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TOWARDS A CURRICULUM FOR TEACHING  
THE HOLOCAUST IN A SOUTH AFRICAN  
JEWISH PRIMARY SCHOOL

A CASE STUDY

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BY

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## ABSTRACT

This is a study of the place and meaning of the Holocaust in the evolving identity of the South African Jewish Community and the appropriate means of translating the subject into the curriculum of its schools. Its place in the primary school has been unclear and its role undefined in contrast to the subject's central unit in the high school Jewish history curriculum. The research focused on the primary school level using Herzlia Weizmann Primary School in Cape Town as a case study.

The study began with a systematic description and analysis of the prevailing state of Holocaust education in the school. Qualitative research techniques were employed to identify the place of the Holocaust in the formal and the informal curricula and in the school ethos. This description together with the interviews of key participants helped to create the basis for informed curriculum development.

The importance of the context was recognized. It involved the consideration of the role and influence of the Holocaust on the internal dynamics of the Jewish community. This included its historical, religious, social and ideological dimensions. External factors in the wider milieu such as attitudes in the host society, and the impact of the media were also considered.

The overriding problem lay in the overwhelming tragedy of the Holocaust and the psychological impact of the subject matter when dealing with pedagogic issues of approach, method and content. Pertinent questions arose such as the suitability of the subject for the primary school pupils and the appropriate age at which to introduce the pupil to the subject. Other issues relating to the context, the content and the perspectives of students, teachers and parents, were brought to the case as part of a process of deliberation towards a curriculum.

It became clear that the Holocaust as a subject needed to be taught and memorialized as part of the ethnic and religious identity of the pupils. The constant and unpredictable impact of the media and the concomitant exposure of the young child pointed to the need to address the subject even in the lower primary school.

The curriculum proposal which was developed recognizes the inadequacies of the existing paradigm which restricted Holocaust study to the period of the annual day of commemoration. Guidelines were devised that suggested a more comprehensive curriculum responding to the pupils' age and development, and with religio-national, universal and personal lessons. There was a need for additional time in the school calendar, suitable integration at school, and greater involvement of the home by heightening parental awareness and by carrying out meaningful rituals. A wide ranging but structured spiral curriculum was developed that offered a cumulative approach to content and consolidation in both affective and cognitive development.

The study recognized the uniqueness of each school setting. This notwithstanding, the case study of developing a curriculum for a subject as difficult and complex as the Holocaust suggested an approach and a process which can be applied in other settings, and particularly for the development of curricula for emotionally and psychologically difficult subject matter. This approach preserves the integrity and authenticity of the subject matter but it is also tailored to the specific needs of each school.



### DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is a product of my own original research, analysis and compilation.

Signed

Signed by candidate

COLIN ROBINSON

28<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 1999

.....  
Date

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## PREFACE

The need to consider the teaching of the Holocaust at primary school level in Jewish education emerged from the researcher's practical involvement and experience in the field. In the 1980s Holocaust Studies at secondary and tertiary level received increased attention mirroring growing general interest in the subject in many countries. In contrast at the primary school level there had been little development as was evident from the paucity of materials and teaching aids even in the sphere of Jewish education. Teachers, if indeed they taught the subject, were generally left to their own devices.

This situation was confirmed when the researcher spent a year of study in Israel in 1990/91 and met primary school teachers from Israel and the Jewish diaspora. While there were teachers carrying out pioneering work, they were working in isolation with little support, insufficient guidance, and with very few opportunities to share expertise.

The researcher participated in a pilot course in Jerusalem at the David Yellin Teacher's Training College in conjunction with Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial Institute which offered a unique opportunity to address the needs of the primary school. Through course work and workshops, the programme focused primarily on pedagogic issues and encouraged the exploration of an interdisciplinary approach to the Holocaust through art, music, drama, literature and the analysis of textbooks and study units. Participants were also encouraged to share their own experiences and efforts in the field. It became increasingly clear to the researcher that more thorough investigation was needed. To understand the field and to ensure its appropriate development, systematic fieldwork and analysis would be required moving far beyond the anecdotal approach and incidental description toward full case studies. This led to the case study of Holocaust education at Herzlia Primary School.

The field of study was guided and supervised by Prof Bernard Steinberg until his untimely passing. Always encouraging, he recommended the researcher's participation in

courses at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The wide range of related courses were invaluable to this study. In a lecture series and workshops on curriculum design, the researcher was introduced to Joseph Schwab's theory of curriculum design. Schwab's holistic and eclectic approach was well suited to the approach adopted by the researcher for this case study. His emphasis on the importance of the practical interaction between teacher, pupil, subject matter and social context, suggested a method of bringing together the diverse elements and the many strands of the investigation. Schwab's call for deliberation between the multilayered dimensions of the study also offered a means for such knowledge and practical experience to coalesce and crystallize into an appropriate curriculum for Herzlia Weizmann School.

Through the decade of the 1990s Holocaust education in primary schools has continued to change and develop, albeit at a slower pace than the rapid proliferation at secondary and tertiary levels. Not unexpectedly, until the late 1990s, little research was carried out on Holocaust education in primary schools. At the time of this study only scant reference was evident in books on the subject. Discussion, debate and investigation were beginning to emerge in journals and newspapers which provided insights and resources for this case study.

In contrast an area of very rapid advancement in the late 1990s has been outside the school in the field of computers and the 'information explosion'. The accessibility of internet, e-mail and websites has opened new fields, new issues and new problems which were only just becoming apparent at the time of this study in the mid 1990s. As pupils gain increasing accessibility through these media, the principles and approaches devised in this study for teaching how to confront, interpret and harness the media, will need to be applied to computer technology and to new media options.

The case study of Herzlia Weizmann was undertaken as a means of generating an informed and appropriate curriculum for a particular school. It was also undertaken as a contribution toward the wider issues and the general development of Holocaust education - and the ongoing process of translating this important and difficult subject

matter into curriculum.

Grateful thanks go to my supervisor, Mr Rob Siebörger, for his guidance and encouragement; to my wife for her patience and understanding; and to our children, my inspiration and my constant reminder of the importance of the task at hand.

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## INTRODUCTION

Traditional Jewish society was already faced with major changes as it confronted and adapted to emancipation and the influences of the Modern Era in the Nineteenth century. But Jewish existence was permanently and radically altered by two events which occurred within a single decade in the mid-twentieth century, namely the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel. Simon Herman in his socio-psychological study of Jewish identity states:

Jewish identity has been profoundly affected by these two events, the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel ... The Holocaust tragically changed the face of Jewish life, its memory still exercises a contributing influence on Jewish identity (Herman 1977:66).

While the impact of both events on world Jewry had profound effects at the time of their occurrence, they and their implications have continued to exercise a powerful influence on the development of Jewish identity. This study shows that it is only with present insight that their impact has begun to be more fully understood.

If these historical events and their consequences have had a major influence on contemporary Jewish identity, then it is apparent that serious consideration should be given to their role in Jewish education and their translation into the curricula of Jewish educational institutions. This is especially significant in countries such as South Africa where the role of Jewish education has been perceived as primarily being concerned with fostering Jewish identification, and where Bernard Steinberg noted, 'the Jewish school is perceived as the very arena of Jewish survival' (Steinberg 1988:19).

Jewish educators have responded to the need to teach about the Holocaust and the State of Israel. Despite their chronological 'newness' relative to classic components of a Jewish curriculum, Jewish educators have sought ways of bringing these subjects into their school curriculum. Of the two subjects that of *Atzmaut* or Statehood has been far easier to translate into the school curriculum since it was the achievement of



a national aspiration that was also a common post World War II phenomenon, and more especially because it was triumphal in nature. The approaches to teaching about Israel have none the less been criticized for being haphazard and without clear conceptual and philosophical underpinnings.

Much of contemporary teaching of Israel ... has been blindly injected into the school curricula without any clear sense of what Israel means and why it should be taught (Chazan 1978:77).

The same unprincipled approach has been evident in the teaching of the Holocaust. But in contrast to 'Atzmaut', the commemoration and teaching about the Holocaust has been far more problematic because of its very nature. Both teachers and students have experienced difficulty in coming to terms with the Holocaust. Amongst many others, Alice and Roy Eckardt have articulated the essence of this difficulty.

How is the unspeakable to be spoken about - how are we to engage in scholarly work upon a subject that staggers the mind and stabs the soul, or ought to do so (Eckardt and Eckardt 1978:231).

Given the historical complexities of the Holocaust and the psychological and emotional difficulties associated with the subject, the literature on the subject revealed that a wide consensus existed that the Holocaust should only be taught at high school level and most often as part of a history syllabus. This has applied equally well in Jewish education where it has been taught as a component of Jewish history. This position is evident even in the 1980s when the proliferation of materials for teaching the subject in Jewish and state education in countries such as Britain and the United States consistently focused on the senior school. The motivation and contents of such endeavours have been considered in the course of this study. The central concern of the study was, however, to investigate the place of Holocaust education in the Primary School, and more specifically in the case of the Jewish Primary School of Herzlia Weizmann in Cape Town.

In the Herzlia School system, as elsewhere, there was a general consensus that the subject should be relegated to the High School, but it was also acknowledged that the Primary School child could at the least be introduced to the subject. The Primary

School pupil was already confronted by the subject in numerous ways, for example, through the annual commemoration of Holocaust Memorial Day, and through various texts in the Hebrew and English syllabii of the school. Pupils were also exposed to the subject through family members who were Holocaust survivors, and through visits of family members to Holocaust sites in Poland, and museums in Israel and America. Thus the extent to which the Holocaust featured in the lives of pupils was also examined by investigating its role in the ethos and identity of the Jewish community.

In addition to exposure from within the school and the community, there have also been external factors that have helped to shape the child's perceptions about the Holocaust. Besides the media coverage of Holocaust related reports and of right-wing and neo-Nazi activities, the subject also received wide exposure in the form of popular cinema and video. With the prevalence of video-tape viewing amongst these primary school children, the subject has been thrust before even the youngest pupils. The impact of such exposure and the effects it has had on the child's understanding of the subject, required careful consideration and has discounted the preference for deferring the teaching of the subject until the High School.

Teachers at the Herzlia Primary schools expressed concern over a lack of guidance, cohesion and resources for teaching this subject. These difficulties were spelled out by them during interviews.

'We want to know how much to tell ...'

'We want to know how to tell it.'

(Interviews 16; 18 - Teachers)

The teachers sought a systematic approach for teaching the subject that would be educationally sound and appropriately sensitive to the child and the subject. To achieve this a number of dimensions have had to be considered such as the nature and ability of the child, the context in which the learning would take place, and a response to the inherent difficulties and demands of the subject matter. The study has investigated such key areas in order to develop a comprehensive understanding that would form the basis for developing curricula guidance. For this reason it has also sought a clearer understanding of the impact of the Holocaust on contemporary Jewish identity and particularly that identity as it is manifested in the South African

milieu.

Responding to the practical field, a suitable research method was employed that enabled the researcher to explore the specific field setting, the wider context and the relationship between the two, since it is both the macro and micro context that are responsible for moulding identity and understanding. The researcher as participant and observer employed qualitative research methods in order to analyse the configuration of influences and characteristics influencing the teaching of the subject. In his theory of curriculum development Joseph Schwab recognized the need for thorough investigation of the subject matter coupled with an equally thorough analysis of the setting. Schwab's theories of curriculum development were also found to be in accord with the eclectic and inclusive approach and were therefore selected to underpin the study. Schwab argues that an understanding of education and curriculum requires an assessment of the four topics or commonplaces of the educative process which he lists as - the subject matter, the pupil, the teacher and the milieu.

Defensible educational thought must account for the four commonplaces or topics ... none of these can be omitted without omitting a vital factor in educational thought in practice (Fox and Rosenfield 1977:10).

Schwab's theory requires that innovation respond to the requirements suggested by such an assessment and the interaction between the commonplaces. In the course of this study both the theory and its application were evaluated in terms of their potential for developing meaningful and appropriate curriculum for the Herzlia case study.

In seeking suitable approaches, methods and materials for application, existing curricula materials and related literature on teaching about the Holocaust were surveyed and analysed. This also encouraged an assessment of a range of explicit and implicit goals and assumptions which served to bring additional perspectives to the study. Those, along with the findings of the research and analysis - of the subject matter, the micro context of the school, and the macro context of the milieu - were brought together in a process of deliberation. This process facilitated the development of goals and guidelines for a curriculum proposal that would be authentic to both the

subject matter and to the needs of the specific field setting at Herzlia Weizmann school.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### THE NATURE OF THE SUBJECT MATTER

#### DEFINING THE INCOMPREHENSIBLE

The Holocaust was the unprecedented annihilation of six million Jews during the Second World War. The Nazi perpetrators succeeded in implementing Adolph Hitler's antisemitic ideology and 'war against the Jews' (Dawidowicz: 1975). Two-thirds of European Jewry was annihilated and the major centre of Jewish/Yiddish culture in the world was destroyed.

In order to translate these tragic events into a classroom curriculum, a comprehensive understanding and analysis of the subject was needed. By identifying the multiple aspects of the subject, and by drawing on experts in each dimension, a clearer understanding of the context and parameters of the subject matter could be achieved. This opened the way for interaction between the commonplaces, generating deliberation and a consideration of educational implications.

Teaching about the Holocaust for example requires recognition and appreciation of the uniqueness of the subject matter. The Holocaust was unique in intention, method and magnitude<sup>1</sup>. Yehuda Bauer, a Holocaust historian, has defined the uniqueness of the Holocaust in the following way:

What makes the Holocaust unique is the existence of two elements, planned total annihilation of a national, ethnic group and the quasi-religious apocalyptic ideology that motivated the murder. (Bauer 1980:45).

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<sup>1</sup> *Notes from each Chapter will be found from page 164 onwards*

Bauer affirms the uniqueness of the Holocaust by comparing it to 'Genocide', a term coined during the War<sup>2</sup> and which he argues does not adequately define the totality of the Nazi intention.

The difference between that [Genocide] and the Holocaust lies in the difference between forcible, even murderous denationalization, and wholesale, total murder of every one of the members of the community ... The Holocaust was the policy of total, sacral Nazi acts of mass murder of all Jews (Bauer 1978:35).

The intention of annihilating a nation and the methods employed by the Nazis, challenge humanity's understanding of its moral development, progress and notions of civilization. This is all the more significant because the perpetrators emerged from what was regarded as a progressive and civilized nation.

The shock came and still comes from the fact that the crime of the Holocaust happened in so-called 'civilized' Europe, and it is this, more than anything else, which has given rise to the host of historical, moral and theological discussions about the nature of modern societies and the nature of man in the post-Holocaust world (Fox, J.P. 1985:45).

Tragically and ironically it was the very accomplishments of modernity in the sciences, arts and in technology which were harnessed to create what has been described as 'the kingdom of death - the Holocaust kingdom'<sup>3</sup>.

Research has revealed new insights into the intention, method and magnitude of the Holocaust. Personal documents and testimonies give accounts of individuals and have prevented over-simplified and impersonal generalizations. Research has also increasingly revealed elements of wilful compliance in Nazi-occupied countries and an indifference to the fate of the Jews which existed amongst the Allies themselves. These findings dispel any attempts to reduce the Holocaust to a simplistic dichotomy of 'them - us' or 'good - evil'. This also necessitated going beyond narrow frames of reference and the limiting

framework of any one single discipline. A wider approach was required that raised uneasy questions about prejudice, racism and human capacity for cruelty. It serves to make the study of the Holocaust a challenge for the individual who has to cope with its complexities and who is required to question personal biases and prejudices. Yet at the same time it should be acknowledged that the victims, the bystanders and the perpetrators were acting in circumstances that were beyond the limits of known human experience. A central concern in this study is how contemporary, post-Holocaust society has come to terms with this, and how it comprehends the Holocaust and teaches it in its schools.

At the core of the problem of incomprehensibility are the limitations and inadequacies of language in its ability to convey the uniqueness and the extremities of the Holocaust. This is exemplified in the difficulty of finding a term of reference and a definition for the tragedy commonly known as 'the Holocaust'.

In addition to the term 'Genocide' there is the term most commonly used in Hebrew, '*Shoah*', meaning a great catastrophe and an abyss. Other terms have been advocated and used such as the German '*Judenvernichtung*' – literally the annihilation of the Jews; '*Churban*' - a traditional Hebrew and Yiddish term for 'destruction'; '*Caesura*' - a break in continuity; '*Novum*' - emphasizing the uniqueness; and '*Tremendum*' - signifying the awe-filling, fearful magnitude of the event<sup>4</sup>.

The term 'The Holocaust' was created as a new term of reference and came into use in the 1950s, entering the English language through the Greek translation of the Biblical Hebrew '*Olah*' meaning a sacrifice wholly consumed by fire - Holo Kaustus<sup>5</sup>.

The Biblical association and the implications of sacrifice and total destruction would give the word special resonance (Jick 1981:309).

There were nonetheless some objections to its connotations such as those of Alice and Roy Eckardt who argued that it would be infamous to identify human beings as offerings or sacrifices<sup>6</sup> (Eckardt and Eckardt 1978:225). However, due to its wide and increasing



usage 'The Holocaust' has become the most accepted term.

English using scholars in Israel and elsewhere now customarily employ 'Holocaust'; there appears to be little choice but to utilize it ... the imprecision is partially relieved when the definite article is added... and capitalization is of further help (Eckardt and Eckardt 1978:225).

The issue of finding the appropriate language was compounded because not only does language fail to convey the full meaning of what occurred in the Holocaust, but it was itself exploited and 'betrayed' by the Nazis. Shaul Esh explored the euphemisms and new words used by the Nazis to camouflage and simulate innocence. (Esh 1963:163)<sup>7</sup>. Similarly Primo Levi described the emergence of a 'Lager Jargon' (Levi 1988:76)<sup>8</sup> which Gilman explains as a deformed lingua-franca of the camps that mirrored exactly the discourse of death (Gilman 1989).

This 'paralysis of language' (Friedländer, S. 1986:52) was an example of the silence that typified reactions to the Holocaust. There was the silence which prevailed albeit for different reasons on the part of the bystanders and the perpetrators, but the years immediately following the war were also characterized by the stunned silence of an overwhelming sense of incomprehensibility.

The fields of theology, philosophy, art and literature have all experienced great difficulty in finding appropriate means and responses when grappling with this sense of incomprehensibility.

The only open avenue may be that of quietness, simplicity of the constant presence of the unsaid, of the constant temptation of silence (Friedländer, S. 1986:55).

For example in the field of literature George Steiner wrote of the impulse towards silence because 'Auschwitz lies outside of speech and reason' (Steiner 1966:123)<sup>9</sup>. Theodore Adorno was even more severe when he argued it was not just impossible but even immoral to apply aesthetic techniques to the Holocaust. 'It is barbaric to write poetry

after Auschwitz' (Adorno 1965:109)<sup>10</sup>.

The notion of 'Holocaust Literature' was for the same reason an anathema to Elie Wiesel.

The very expression is a contradiction in term. Auschwitz negates any forms of literature ... a novel about Auschwitz is not a novel or else it is not about Auschwitz. The very attempt to create such a novel is blasphemy (Wiesel 1975:314).

Although Wiesel admonished 'learn and be silent!' (Wiesel 1982:197), he himself has become one of the most prolific and best known writers of the Holocaust period. Knowing that the subject defies comprehension and could bring no understanding, Wiesel felt compelled to tell of it out of a sense of moral responsibility as a survivor and as a witness. His literature turns testimony into an art form that is driven by an ethical imperative to speak for the dead and to warn an indifferent world. Thus even for Wiesel, the silence had to be overcome, and as stated by Alvin Rosenfeld, the Holocaust has demanded speech -

The Holocaust has demanded speech ... the speech may be flawed, stuttering and inadequate, as it must be given the sources out of which it originates, but it is still speech (Rosenfeld 1978:4)<sup>11</sup>.

Incomprehensibility creates its own problems and gives rise to mystification. Bauer expressed his concern that this would serve to detach the Holocaust from human responsibility by removing it to another 'planet' <sup>12</sup>.

To view it as totally unique is to take it out of history and out of every day lives ... and that means opening wide the gates for possible repetition (Bauer 1978:38).

To avoid such mystification Bauer has argued that historical investigation and analysis restores the Holocaust to the realm of human phenomenology.

For the historians of the twentieth century, the Holocaust has been part of a wider study

of Nazism and World War II<sup>13</sup>. Their work has given rise to varying interpretations and lively debate. Historical analysis has also been fuelled and shaped by increased accessibility to war documents as a result of the expiry of statutes of limitations and the opening of archives in post-communist Eastern Europe. In Germany in particular academic debates over Holocaust historiography have spilled into the public arena where opposing perspectives of the '*Historikerstreit*' have been central in defining the variant forms of contemporary German identity<sup>14</sup>. Elsewhere similar challenges have been experienced in the arguments and counter-arguments of revisionist historians whose activities range from legitimate intellectual pursuits to blatant racism Holocaust denial<sup>15</sup>. These issues, although beyond the scope of this study, attest to the on-going importance of the subject even five decades after the events.

In spite of these developments and progress in the field, there exist limitations which are inherent in a historical approach to the subject. The substantive structures and accepted lines of historical investigation, have not been able to encompass the fuller meaning of the Holocaust. Saul Friedländer has articulated the problem:

Hitler's 'spell' over the Germans to the end, defies all customary interpretations and can never be explained coherently within the framework of historiography in which political, social and economic explanations predominate (Friedländer, S. 1986:72).

Bauer, as a historian of the Holocaust, recognized this and in addition to calling for accurate and conscientious study of the events and consequences of the Holocaust, he has also advocated an alliance between the historian and the witness-survivor in what he called 'an alliance between chronicler and Job'. (Bauer 1978:49). He cautioned against the danger of relegating the Holocaust to a purely academic treatment that fails to recognize the human perspective.

Turning the events into a vast sea of footnotes and rationalistic analysis ... [would be] turning the Holocaust into the subject of Holocaustology - a sub-branch of history on an equal footing with the

study of the rise of the silk industry in France ... and thereby unconsciously imitating the Nazis and turning them [the victims] into objects again, this time for historical, social and other research (Bauer 1978:44).

Even a historical approach ultimately brings one back to the problem of incomprehensibility. Historical analysis could reveal facts, events, causality, and details of the context, but these have not brought understanding that goes beyond themselves, contained as they are in the paradigms of the historian's mindset<sup>16</sup>. Wiesel wrote:

I know the facts and the events, I know how the tragedy unfolded minute by minute, but this knowledge as if coming from the outside has nothing to do with understanding ... I who was there, do not understand. (Wiesel 1982:183).

Thus while historians grapple with the facts, attempts to understand the Holocaust from within any singular discipline would have to take cognizance of the limitations and inadequacies of their field. No less an opus than the Encyclopedia of the Holocaust published by Macmillan in 1990, humbly asserted in the Introduction that 'it is impossible to understand, but it is necessary to know' (Encyclopedia of the Holocaust 1990: Introduction)<sup>17</sup>.

This dialectical tension remains at the core of any attempt to deal with the subject of the Holocaust and therefore has direct implications for education, and particularly for Jewish education. Teachers in the case-study shared the ambivalence and the sense of responsibility articulated by Wiesel.

How can we speak of it ... how can we not speak of it  
(Wiesel 1978:XII).

The imperative and driving motivation has an added sense of urgency in the fear that difficulties in understanding may give rise to misunderstanding and distortion. In this regard Byron Sherwin states:

While the Holocaust can be neither understood nor explained it must not be misunderstood, not must it be misexplained nor can it be forgotten (Sherwin 1986).

The teacher faced with this dilemma has no choice but to follow Wiesel's example by seeking a means for conveying and sharing the sense of incomprehensibility. Magurshak explains:

Once one has noted that confronting the Holocaust is overwhelming, emphatically taxing, and both theologically and ultimately incomprehensible, one is free to investigate it simply as a tragic but nonetheless human phenomenon (Magurshak 1980:238).

Incomprehensibility is a problem intrinsic to the subject matter and was manifest in the silence that dominated the decades following the war. It continued to do so even after the 1960s when that silence began to give way to a burgeoning interest and a flood of material that followed in its wake. Thus the problem of incomprehensibility persisted and became a part of the growing inquiry into the subject and would need to be reflected in a curriculum for Holocaust education.

#### FROM SILENCE TO POPULAR CULTURE - THE TEXTURE OF MEMORY

The almost universal silence of the post Holocaust period was exemplified by the silence of the majority of the survivors. Memory was repressed; guilt feelings at surviving; the drive to rebuild their lives; and an overwhelming sense of the indifference of those around them, all bolstered their reticence. This changed with the passing of time when temporal distance gave rise to a new commitment to bear testimony and to combat indifference. The realization of their own mortality encouraged an increasing desire to record memoirs, give testimony and address Jewish and public groups<sup>18</sup>.

This shift on the part of the survivors was spurred by the parallel and simultaneous development of the growing receptiveness of a new post World War II generation. It was

manifest in increasing interest in the form of inquiry, artistic expression, media interest, memorials and institutions of research and study. Fascination bordered on macabre curiosity of what Saul Friedländer called the 'spell' of Nazism (Friedländer, S. 1982)<sup>19</sup> and Jacob Neusner referred to it as 'Holocaustomania'. (Neusner 1981:84).

The increased public exposure to Nazism and the Holocaust was reflected in the multitude of news reports and events in the popular press which feeds and is fed on their sensationalism. At the time of this study there were numerous fiftieth year commemorations of events such as the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, D-Day, V.E. Day and the liberation of the camps. This was in addition to the wide exposure in the press that was given to German unification, neo-Nazism, racism, anti-semitism, war crime trials, Swiss bank accounts and Insurance claims and Holocaust denial. The case study also highlighted media exposure through the plethora of Holocaust movies. This proliferation was not limited to the popular media, and was also found in the increased number of study programmes, research activities, museums, archives and in commemoration ceremonies around the world. Thus by 1988 The Directory of Holocaust Institutes in North America published by the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, recorded 98 institutions in 23 states in the USA and Canada alone (Mais, 1988). President Carter established 'The President's Commission for Holocaust Memorial' which resulted in the opening of the federally funded Holocaust Memorial Museum in 1993 which is situated in the heart of the American capital alongside the Smithsonian Museum and the monuments to Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln (Klein Halevi 1993:28)<sup>20</sup>.

James Young records the rapid development in Holocaust awareness<sup>21</sup>. He traces it through literary developments (Young 1988) and through his study of memorials, The Texture of Memory - Holocaust Memorials and Meanings (Young 1993). In the latter book Young argues that it is the memory of the event not the event itself which is expressed in the memorials and that the memories are based on their context which is determined by political, national, psychological, historical and financial factors. These are then integrated with the visitor's own context whereby the memory is created<sup>22</sup>. Young

makes a persuasive case for the multitude of ways of seeing and remembering in what he calls 'collected' rather than 'collective' memory<sup>23</sup> and hence the title of his book the 'texture' of memory<sup>24</sup>.

Each place fostered its own texture of memory. In every country's memorials, in every national museum and archive I found a different Holocaust ... and at times I found no Holocaust at all (Young 1988:172).

Young established that the way the event is remembered determines, but is also determined, by its memorialization. His argument fully supports the emphasis placed on the significance of the milieu in the case study and if his point is valid for memorials, then it would be equally valid for education systems and how the subject of the Holocaust is memorialized and taught in a given school setting.

While a comprehensive comparative analysis was beyond the scope of this study, a brief overview helped to plot the diverse impacts, attitudes and perspectives in the different textures of memory of the Holocaust<sup>25</sup>. Comparative analysis also widened the understanding of the case study and its particular needs.

#### A. COUNTRIES IN EUROPE

In Germany, for example, Lucy Dawidowicz refers to the problem of '*unbewaltigte vergangenheit*' - an unmastered past (Dawidowicz 1981:55). There were conflicting responses evident in the public debates of the aforementioned Historiektreit, and in responses that ranged from acts of national and personal atonement<sup>26</sup> to Holocaust denial, Neo-Nazi racism and even a renewed upsurge of antisemitism.<sup>27</sup> In his study of German textbooks Walter Renn, identified a tendency to slough over the Hitler period regarding it as an aberration in Germany history (Renn 1987). In Austria<sup>28</sup>, France<sup>29</sup> and the Netherlands there has been an ambivalent response and a tendency until the late 1990s to focus on their victimisation at the hands of the Nazis rather than the roles of bystanders or collaborators.

In Britain, Davidowicz pointed out, historians saw no particular significance in the Holocaust beyond a passing reference (Dawidowicz 1981:26)<sup>30</sup>. Similarly textbooks for the classroom covered the Holocaust 'in half a page accompanied by a photograph of corpses' (Supple 1993: Preface XIII). Although at first regarded as too particularistic for inclusion in the National Curriculum (Fox, J.P. 1989:419)<sup>31</sup>, public protests resulted in its inclusion in the GCSE-National Curriculum: History<sup>32</sup>. This resulted in a spate of textbooks which most often approached the Holocaust as a case study of racism and prejudice, and teaching tolerance in multi-cultural Britain (Landau 1992; Supple 1993)<sup>33</sup>.

In Russia there was an attempt to erase the Holocaust. Dawidowicz refers to 'a palimpsest history' (1981:68) where the Holocaust was subsumed by the greater patriotic war of the soviets against the fascists. Polish history incorporated and appropriated the murder of three million Polish Jews as part of a national Polish martyrdom<sup>34</sup>. Young records that until recently there was no specific reference to the Jewish identity of victims of concentration camps in Poland. (Young 1993:13).

## B. ISRAEL AND THE JEWISH DIASPORA

The Holocaust has played a central role in the national psyche of Israel. The Holocaust had obliterated the major centres of World Jewry in Eastern Europe and these were shifted to the communities in Israel and the United States<sup>35</sup>. Despite restrictive British immigration policies in mandate Palestine<sup>36</sup>, by the year of Israel's independence in 1948, two-thirds of all Holocaust survivors numbering 200 000 refugees, had been absorbed into Israel. Although the process toward statehood was already well established prior to the Holocaust<sup>37</sup>, sympathies after the tragedy hastened the establishment of the State. (Mankowitz 1984:16).

Collective memory in Israel has undergone significant changes which have impacted on the strongly Zionist and Israel orientated Jewish community in South Africa. Ruth Firer in her study of Holocaust education in Israel (Firer 1987:156) drew a parallel between



these changes and phases of mourning. The initial stage was one of shock mingled with self accusation at not having done enough to prevent the tragedy. This was followed by anger against the murdered 'for going as sheep to the slaughter'. This anger was accompanied by a sense of shame and resulted in a taboo and silence. The next phase led to open confrontation with the past and was propelled by events such as the public trial of Adolf Eichman (1961-63) and the successive wars that threatened the survival of the state particularly in 1967, 1973 and again more recently in the Gulf War of 1991<sup>38</sup>. Simon Herman explained that such events or markers brought renewed focus and reactivated the memory of the Holocaust.

It is a constant background factor - moving from time to time to the foreground, affecting the way Jews see themselves and the way they perceive their relationship in the non-Jewish world (Herman 1977:87).

Charles Liebman and Eliezer Don-Yehiya analysed the role of the Holocaust in the development of what they call Israel's 'civil religion' (Liebman, Don-Yehiya 1983)<sup>39</sup>. During the 'Statism' period of consolidating a Zionist Socialist ideology, the Holocaust came to symbolize Jewish passivity in the Diaspora. Shunning the tragedy, it highlighted heroism and resistance as being akin to the redemptive process in the rebuilding of Zion. For example the Ghetto fighters of Warsaw were seen as the forebears of the Israeli army. This emphasis on '*Gevurah*', heroism, was reflected in the Herzlia schools where heroes such as Chanah Senesh and Mordechai Anielewicz were central in Holocaust education at the School.

Liebman and Don-Yehiya refer to a later period of the 'New Civil Religion' in Israel when survival was assured and the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora was reassessed and commemoration became entrenched. A national day of mourning was established and legislated in 1953<sup>40</sup> along with the establishment in Jerusalem of a national Holocaust Memorial Institute called *Yad Vashem*<sup>41</sup>.

*Yad Vashem* was repeatedly referred to by pupils and parents at Herzlia Weizmann, some

had visited the institute and pupils had learnt about it and the numerous other memorials and museums in Israel<sup>42</sup>.

The establishment of an annual commemoration day, like the simultaneous issue of accepting reparations from Germany, gave rise to public debate in Israel - albeit for different reasons<sup>43</sup>. The actual observance of *Yom HaShoah Ve'Ha'Gevurah* - a day of memorial, was without precedent and form. Content, ritual and liturgy began to take shape with the development of pseudo-religious overtones during the period described as that of the 'New Civil Religion'. In the 1990s the memorial day was characterized by the televised ceremony at *Yad Vashem*, sombre music and public mourning with strict observance of two minutes of silence introduced by an alarm that brings the entire country to a halt. The case study revealed that this form and style of commemoration was replicated by the South African Jewish community and by the Herzlia schools where it was adapted to fit the blend of the national religious ethos of the community.

The Holocaust is unquestionably part of Israeli cultural literacy and its psyche:

The trauma leaves an indelible mark on the national psychology, the tenor and content of public life, and the conduct of foreign affairs, of politics, education, literature and the arts (Elon 1977:199)<sup>44</sup>.

In tracing the ramifications for education Firer (1987) shows how its manifestation in Israeli textbooks reflects the phases of the civil religion. While formally taught in the Israeli high school history curriculum, in the primary schools there was little prescription and uneven amounts of time devoted to the subject. As in the case study the extent of exposure in the primary school depended on the interests and inclinations of the teachers.

While Israel's civil religion reflected official mainstream practise it does not address the many divergent responses within segments of that society. Similarly there could be no claim of a homogeneous Jewish diaspora. The impact of the Holocaust was nonetheless shared by Jewries of the diaspora where it remained central to Jewish identity (Herman

1977:87). Divergence was based on variables such as historical factors, geo-political issues, direct involvement, relations with Israel, the presence of survivors, and the level of antisemitism in the particular host country. Responses and attitudes of the community's schools are also influenced by variables such as ideology, political groupings and Jewish religious denominationism<sup>45</sup>.

### C. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Despite a rejection of the melting-pot motif of the amalgamation of a shared American culture, ethnicity became a value in the newly defined 'multicultural society'. Close examination revealed that there was an overarching Americanism that not only accommodated ethnic manifestations within its parameters but even 'Americanized' them<sup>46</sup>. In this way it was not only American Jewish ethnicity that was Americanized, but also the Holocaust itself. This had implications for South African Jewry both because of the influence of American Jewry as the largest community in the diaspora, but also because through mass media the American experience and influence was conveyed to the world at large.

Liebman described the pattern of Jewish acculturation in America as 'the protestantizing of American Judaism'. (Liebman, 1973:127)<sup>47</sup>. This involved the evolution of a brand of Judaism that drew on the compatibility of Jewish religio-ethnic elements and the civil religion that was organic to Americans. The traditional pillars of Torah, faith and language became increasingly corroded and diluted, and along with support for a beleaguered Israel, the majority of Jews in America increasingly turned to the Holocaust as their shared memory. (Young 1993:348). It was precisely this shift of focus that Jacob Neusner criticized as an ethnic Jewishness not based on Torah but on 'Holocaust and Redemption' (Neusner 1981:61)<sup>48</sup>. Michael Berenbaum defended the merits of Americanization or what he termed the 'nativization of the Holocaust' (Berenbaum 1986)<sup>49</sup>. He saw it as a means of securing and consolidating the place of the Holocaust in both Jewish identity and in the American civil culture and epitomised by the Holocaust

Memorial in Washington.

The process and full significance of Americanization was evident in the increased presence of the Holocaust in school textbooks in the United States and the wide number of subjects in which it was taught. (Pate 1987)<sup>50</sup>. It became a means for teaching citizenship, humanities, anti-racism and moral education - all within the framework of honouring ethnic diversity and the promotion of multiculturalism. Universal lessons were sought through comparative study of the genocide of the Jews with other cases. Critics saw this approach as reducing the Holocaust to a tool of political exploitation. Thus the historian Lucy Dawidowicz berated one such programme as reducing the Holocaust 'to nothing more than the Jewish branch of oppression studies' (Dawidowicz, 1990)<sup>51</sup>.

This universalization of the Holocaust was also challenged by Yehuda Bauer who warned of the 'de-Judaizing' of the Holocaust (Bauer 1980:42). Simon Herman expressed his concern about the imperatives of universalism and effects on Jewish consciousness which should be focussed on the particularity of the tragedy.

It is questionable whether Jews, the descendants of the victims, are the proper address for the exhortations often directed at them to bend their efforts to change society as part of the lesson to learn from the Holocaust (Herman 1977:108).

Frank Littell warned that universalizing offered a means of evading confrontation with the particular tragedy and its significance. (Quoted in Grynberg 1982:55)<sup>52</sup>. While Edward Alexander referred to it as the appropriation and 'stealing' of the Holocaust (Alexander: 1980:50) in which the Holocaust was reduced to a metaphor for the suffering of humanity<sup>53</sup>.

The Americanization of the Holocaust had paradoxically resulted in furthering its universalization, its commercialization and its trivialization. The process is nowhere more evident than in the media of video and film, and especially in Hollywood productions

which dominate the cinema world and offers its own cinematic versions of the Holocaust to mass audiences<sup>54</sup>. Its powerful impact on South African society and on the pupils and families of Weizmann School was investigated in the case study. The impact and easy accessibility of film and video necessitated closer scrutiny and analysis of these media.

## FILM AND THE HOLOCAUST

Numerous studies have focused on cinematic portrayals of the Holocaust. These analysed issues of cinematic quality, techniques, aesthetics, presentation and representation, and the moral issues related to screening the horrors of the tragedy<sup>55</sup>.

Documentary films such as the segment 'Genocide' (1973) in the BBC Thames Television series The World At War (1973), have presented informative historical reportage and have given wide exposure to stock visual images of the Holocaust. The documentary generally, however, has limited circulation and public appeal<sup>56</sup>. This was also true of Claude Lanzman's creative response of 9 hours of harrowing testimony in Shoah (1985). This ground-breaking film presented a new genre which stood in sharp contrast in content and technique to both the documentary and the glut of commercial films from Hollywood<sup>57</sup>.

Judith Doneson emphasized the different cultural, social and political contexts that has resulted in different cinematic responses. For example the Hollywood-type film used American symbols and language to convey an American perception of the European Holocaust (Doneson 1987:8)<sup>58</sup>. Thus she identifies the growth of ethnic consciousness and its acceptability in America as leading to the success of the docudrama series Holocaust (1978)<sup>59</sup> which was followed with a spate of Holocaust films using the same formula. In 1994 Schindler's List (1994), had swept the Hollywood Oscar awards and won international acclaim for a highly polished and sophisticated film of the same genre<sup>60</sup>.

Doneson notes that Holocaust movies have been marketed like any other commodity and

she refers to a 'veritable Holocaust industry' (Doneson 1988:1674). Leon Jick refers to a devastating barb, 'there is no business like Shoah business' (Jick 1981:316)<sup>61</sup>. Annette Insdorf in her book Indelible Shadows: Film And The Holocaust (1983), challenged the popular formula of docudrama favoured by Hollywood. She noted it is neither fiction nor documentary and it blurs reality and historical accuracy<sup>62</sup>. In this way films have distorted, oversimplified, manipulated audiences and even offered perverse eroticism in order to promote box office entertainment and commercial success<sup>63</sup>.

The charge of trivialization was far more widespread than in the exaggerated Hollywood films which Klein Halevi termed 'the most blatant of the excesses of memory'. (Klein Halevi 1993)<sup>64</sup>. Yehuda Bauer expressed concern over trivialization in academic institutions where for example, the Holocaust could be 'done' in a 55 minute lecture and where sterile, scientific studies dehumanized the victims. (Bauer 1978:47). Similarly trivialization was even found in fashion and faddism, for example the Comme des Garçons 1995 fashion collection in Paris featured shaven head models wearing striped pyjama garments (Jewish Chronicle Feb 1995).

Saturation of the subject becomes inevitable.

A saturation point may have been reached as a result of which the mention of the Holocaust will produce only apathy ... [for] an outworn and unprovoking term (Jick 1981:316).

Doneson is, however, more circumspect and rejects the negative implications of the term trivialization. Like Berenbaum she recognized value in increasing public interest in the subject.

The consequences are not trivial ... popularizing brings accessibility which is achieved where art has failed - it initiates and develops a common language. (Doneson 1988:1677)<sup>65</sup>.

James Young echoed this view when he argued 'better abused memory which might be critically qualified, than no memory at all'. (Young 1988:135)<sup>66</sup>. The consequences for public memory are the 'indelible images', the title of Insdorf's Study of Holocaust films

(Insdorf 1983).

The power of the film and the visual image for shaping understanding ironically was recongized by the Nazi propaganda machine<sup>67</sup>. The impact of Hollywood movies had proven to stimulate public debate and to bring awareness of the Holocaust to millions of people. Thus the television series Holocaust (1978) was viewed by an estimated 15 million Germans in 1979, destroying a taboo and creating a climate in Germany favourable to discussing the Holocaust at home, work and school (Insdorf 1983:6)<sup>68</sup>. The power to educate was attested to by Steven Spielberg in March 1995 in his acceptance of Oscar awards for Schindler's List (1994) when he spelled out the educational imperative:

I implore all educators ... to not allow the Holocaust to remain a footnote of history ... there are 350 000 experts [survivors] just waiting to be useful<sup>69</sup>.

The educational opportunities were recognized in many countries<sup>70</sup>, not least of all giving rise to bannings and restrictions in countries fearing a sympathetic response<sup>71</sup>.

Yosef Yerushalmi made the following observation about the processes of shaping the meaning of the Holocaust:

I have no doubt that its image is being shaped not at the historian's anvil but in the novelist's crucible (Yerushalmi 1989:98).

In popular culture it is the powerful influence of the celluloid and television screens which will shape its meaning.

The commercial experiences of film make it a dubious form of communicating the truth of World War II, given the box office dependence on sex, violence and simple plot, easy laughs and so on ... nevertheless it is primarily through motion pictures that many audiences know - and will continue to learn about the Nazi era and its victims (Insdorf 1983: Preface XV).

Deliberation for a Holocaust curriculum cannot ignore the impact and the influence of the

media on the child. It has to consider the nature of the challenge and find appropriate curricular responses.

## CONCLUSION

Though rooted in history, analysis of the subject matter revealed that it has as much to do with collective memory and identity, and of Jewish identity in particular. At one level, as a component of World War II and modern history, the Holocaust could be 'ready-ed' for teaching according to the substantive structures and procedures for teaching history. But in a Jewish school at primary school level a far more complex, interdisciplinary approach was required.

The case study demonstrated the impact of the enormous proliferation of materials and especially the barrage of publicity which confronted even the youngest primary school child. Concerns that the Holocaust would be forgotten had been replaced by concerns not only over the issue of incomprehensibility and how to introduce the subject into schools, but also over what confronted the child from beyond the school. This was especially important because these influences threatened to distort, misinform and trivialize the Holocaust.

In sum the analysis of the subject matter revealed the following key factors that needed to be taken into account in the process of deliberation:

1. The need to recognize difficulties in teaching a subject that remains profoundly and fundamentally incomprehensible and yet must be taught.
2. The need to consider and recognize the multitude of responses and perspectives each being shaped by its own specific context.
3. A sound understanding of the perspective and the manifestations of the Holocaust in the particular case study of Herzlia Weizmann.



4. Recognition of the influence of the wider milieu on the internal communal perspective especially in the form of the powerful, external influence of the public media of film, video, press and also textbooks. This includes the ramification of Americanization, universalization and commercialization of the subject.
5. An awareness of the dangers of trivialization, distortion and saturation especially from the intrinsic influences in the list above.
6. Teachers required training in skills in textbook critique and skills in analysis of the media, in order to modify and adopt these influences thereby turning them into potential advantages and resources for teaching the subject.

Chaim Schatzker, on discussing the dilemmas and considerations for teaching the Holocaust, paid special attention to the sui generis nature of each context. He thus warned against any hopes for the direct transference of textbooks, programmes and curricula.

Curricula of the Holocaust are not transferable from one country to another - every nation, generation, and every social, ideological group has its own problems facing the Holocaust, and its own way of integrating it into its life and educational system (Schatzker 1980).

In this manner Schatzker observed that there could be no short-cuts. Like Joseph Schwab, he reached the conclusion that the means by which an appropriate curriculum is secured was through a process of thorough deliberation.

Consequently we have to speak of dilemmas, in teaching the Holocaust when facing a situation in which educational systems, curriculum makers and teachers have to find their way among various possibilities, arguments, views and beliefs (Schatzker 1980).

## CHAPTER TWO

### CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT - THEORETICAL

#### UNDERPINNINGS

The process of translating subject matter into curriculum requires an understanding of the content and structures of the subject. This is especially pertinent to the case of the Holocaust where difficulties such as incomprehensibility, and the search for a context, present problems for the adult mind. These are further exacerbated when bringing the subject to the child. This was born out in the study by the frustrations and the difficulties expressed by the teachers<sup>1</sup>. The teachers and the pupils, their difficulties, along with the subject and its complexities became the key elements for consideration in the shaping of a Holocaust curriculum.

A number of attempts have been made to prepare the Holocaust as subject matter for the primary school, and in the course of this study these programmes, textbooks and units, have been closely analysed (Appendix D: Holocaust Education and Textbooks). Some have been guided by theories of education and psychology which were imposed on the subject. Other programmes have been limited by a narrowed ideological motivation. But these issues aside, the problems of transference and application have abounded due to the failure to recognize the unique requirements of each specific context.

The problems of teaching the Holocaust in this study had emerged from a very specific field - namely that of Herzlia Weizmann School. While common ground existed with similar schools in other settings, the sui generis qualities and the matrix of influences of the particular case required recognition and analysis. Unlike school-based curriculum, the focus was not restricted to the school itself but extended into macro and micro dimensions. It went beyond to the wider milieu of community and society in order to understand their impact upon the subject and the curriculum. This is especially important in the case of a community school such as Herzlia Weizmann which is expected to reflect the ethos and aspirations of the community it serves.

Joseph Schwab, in his principles for curriculum development, viewed curriculum in the same wide and holistic manner. Approaching each component in an eclectic manner, he called for their rigorous study in order to facilitate dialogue that would eventually produce a consensus for creating a curriculum for a given setting. For Schwab's curriculum was a collaborative endeavour based firmly on the importance of community and consensus<sup>2</sup>.

Schwab in his typical prose of 'erudite eloquence and exasperating style' (Eisner 1984:203) offered a definition of curriculum which reveals his commitment to the inclusivity of all dimensions of the field and his holistic approach to curriculum development.

Curriculum is what is successfully conveyed to differing degrees to different students, by committed teachers using appropriate materials and actions, of legitimated bodies of knowledge, skill, taste and propensity to act and to react, which are chosen for instruction after serious reflection and communal decision by representatives of those involved in the teaching of a specified group of students who are known to the decision-makers (Schwab 1983:240).

Schwab recognized the importance of understanding the conceptual structures that are intrinsic to the subject matter<sup>3</sup>. But significantly he also differentiated between subject matter (scholarship) and what he termed 'subject matter for education'. Seymour Fox, an exponent of Schwab's theory, explains this distinction in the following manner:

It is a distinction between scholarship for the sake of scholarship, and scholarship as a resource for education<sup>4</sup>. (Fox 1977:104).

In Schwab's theory of curriculum, the subject matter for education would be the result of the process of deliberation where the representatives of the subject matter with their specialist expertise would be just one of the commonplaces of education.

Schwab identified four commonplaces or topics which characterize the field of education. He listed them as the subject matter: the student; the teacher; and the milieu.

[The commonplaces] are constructed by a certain mode of systematic comparison of the principles, premises, methods and selections used by and in each inquiry. This mode of comparison generates a set of factors called 'commonplaces' ... representing the whole subject matter of the whole plurality of enquiries<sup>5</sup>. (Schwab 1978:339).

These four commonplaces offered a 'conceptual map' with each one being of equal importance and requiring equal consideration. Schwab stressed the importance of equal rank in order to prevent the hegemony of any single commonplace. This would be secured through the study of each commonplace that would draw on experts in the field, and the interaction between them. Co-ordinancy and deliberation would be guided by a specialized curriculum chairman whom Schwab envisaged as being trained to act as a mediator for the curricula group (Schwab 1983:252).

The manifestations of the commonplaces and the nuances of the deliberation that would emerge, would be unique to each setting and hence Schwab's insistence that curriculum development should be a practical endeavour that requires practical arts. He warned against the temptation to seek ready answers in theories, imposed objectives or in pre-packed curricula - all of which would be extrinsic and foreign to the requirements and nuances of the practical context. Schwab was critical of curricula for being 'moribund' precisely because of the unquestioning dependency and reliance on theory<sup>6</sup>. (Schwab 1978:287). Theory by definition is generalised and therefore would limit and constrict, lacking the particularity of a specific context. Nonetheless, far from rejecting theory, Schwab argued that theories should be considered and 'ready-ed' in what he termed 'the arts of the eclectic' (Schwab 1978:339). These, together with the 'arts of the practical', would focus on the specificity of the practical that was omitted by theory, and would form the 'defensible eclectic' justified by the practical<sup>7</sup>. (Schwab 1983:243). These arts were a central aspect of the entire process in which they commingle to bring a principle of theory to the case, and would generate options in which delegated power would be

honoured and diversity would be cherished (Schwab 1978:291).

Curriculum development for Schwab could not begin with the defining of objectives which are either imposed or emanate from a theory, he argued that objectives should emerge from the practical field itself.

Objectives cannot be chosen without knowing whether we are able to generate learning experiences which are likely to lead to them (Fox 1985:81).

In this way curriculum development would have to begin with the study and deliberation over the symptoms of a problem in the field or over the need for innovation - in both instances these would be located in the practical.

One characteristic of the practical is that the problem is not given but must be located or discovered (Fox 1985:81).

Once the problem is defined the curriculum group would deliberate over its nuances, implications and complexities, and in this process the curriculum would begin to take form.

Through this process Schwab offered the means for addressing the problems which motivated this study, namely the practical difficulty of translating the subject of the Holocaust into a curriculum at Herzlia Weizmann School. Schwab's approach suggested a process that would evolve from the recognition of the nature of the problem towards the building of a defensible curriculum that would answer the specific needs of the practical setting.

Schwab's 'theory of the practical' however contained limitations some of which he himself recognized. One of the central problems at the fore in a critique of his theory, was the feasibility of actual implementation. By the time Schwab wrote The Practical : Four (Schwab 1983), some two decades after he had originally formulated his principles, he came to recognize the limitations of his own theoretical ideas for deliberation which proved to be cumbersome and impractical. The full crystallization of the process was only

feasible in certain ideal situations. In his later work he reassessed the interplay of the commonplaces and attempted to preserve the deliberation collegiate by advocating the training of curricula chairmen who would facilitate the process. Fox also confronted the time-consuming and cumbersome nature of Schwab's envisaged collegiate and he suggested simulations as a solution and an alternative means of generating and managing deliberation. The key members in this approach would represent differing views and where necessary they would argue their case through simulations<sup>8</sup>. Similarly Lee Shulman posited the notion of 'inner' or 'lone deliberation', but pursuing deliberations alone would severely limit the options that would be generated and offered little to assist in protecting against subjectivity and bias<sup>9</sup>.

This study did not subscribe to Shulman's notion because the dialogue mediated by the researcher as curriculum-planner was actual. The problem of manageability of the deliberation was resolved by locating it between the inner deliberations suggested by Shulman and the constitution of a full and formal curriculum group originally envisaged by Schwab. However, this went beyond Fox's notion of simulating the deliberation because by seeking the views and consulting with key players in all spheres, their perspectives were brought to each other and in this way the study stimulated dialogue that generated options and achieved a meaningful deliberation.

In addition to the issue of managing the wide representative forum required for deliberation, and directly related to this pragmatic problem, was the need to re-evaluate the role of the teacher in the deliberation process. Schwab by his own admission had underestimated the importance of the teacher's role and contribution in his model for curriculum development.

Schwab's original insistence on equal weightings for the commonplaces was adapted in his later work when he qualified the concept of co-ordinancy with the acceptance of ranking the commonplaces when circumstances justified it.

No one of them (the commonplaces) may be allowed to dominate the

deliberation unless the domination is conscious and capable of defence in terms of the circumstances (Schwab 1978:371).

In Fox's words, the concept of co-ordinancy 'had not stood the test of the practical' (Fox 1985:77). Schwab therefore arrived at the decision that the teacher should be given a greater role in the deliberation process in order to facilitate the process and in order to more accurately and more authentically reflect the central role of the teacher in the reality of the practical. This was neither simply a pragmatic compromise, nor was it the subsuming of the other commonplaces, and each continued to represent an essential sphere of knowledge required by the deliberation. It did, however, represent the realization that because of the teacher's role in relation to each of the other commonplaces, the role was at the centre of curriculum development. The teacher acts as the filter through which curriculum is translated into reality and who therefore gives life to a curriculum<sup>10</sup>. Schwab's realization in The Practical: Four, was most emphatic.

The first who should be a member of the [curriculum] group is the teacher. Again and louder - THE TEACHER! [Schwab's emphasis] (Schwab 1983:245).

Schwab came to the conclusion that the teacher's role was pivotal throughout the decision making and the deliberations. In The Practical: Four, Schwab therefore transferred the role of subject matter specialist: of learner, and of sociologist, to the teacher while the aforementioned were relegated to the role of consultants for the group. Thus, for example, the social scientists, despite their expertise, could be replaced by the teachers who were expected to draw on their models, generalisations and perspectives through consultancy, but who were themselves more familiar with their specific pupils in their practice.

Because it is the teacher who is intimately involved with the child in his every day life and is likely to have achieved expertise in this area<sup>11</sup>. (Fox 1985:78).

Schwab, in this sense, redefined the teacher as the commonplace calling the teacher 'the fountainhead of curricula decision' (Schwab in Fox 1985:77). He affirmed the centrality

of the teacher's role and the potential contribution that the teacher could make to the development of curriculum. But this, at the same time, placed the onus on the teachers to sharpen their understanding and observations, and to heighten their capacity as reflective practitioners and researchers of their work place. It was, therefore, not surprising that Schwab cast the teacher as a learner:

He must use the classroom as the occasion and means to reflect upon education as a whole ... as the laboratory in which to translate reflections into actions and thus to test reflections, actions and outcomes against many criteria (Schwab 1978:182).

The teacher had been co-opted to central role in the deliberation process and was called upon to share knowledge and insights of the field, but the teacher was called to go beyond this by helping to study and research the field. The teacher as researcher, through mastery of research techniques along with mastering knowledge of the commonplaces, would be well placed to serve as curriculum planner - or in Schwab's terminology - as the 'curriculum chairman' (Schwab 1983:252).

The researcher of the study of Holocaust education at Herzlia Weizmann School had to be suitably equipped for the task as researcher of the case study and as curriculum designer. The experiences and expertise of a decade as head of Jewish History for the Herzlia Primary Schools were brought to the deliberation process. In addition to prepare himself for the role of curriculum planner, the researcher, through courses and workshops, enhanced his theoretical and academic knowledge of the subject matter and each of the other commonplaces<sup>12</sup>.

The role of teacher as researcher, and especially as researcher of his own field and teaching practice required strategies and methods of research that would take full advantage of the perspectives of a participant from within the field but without succumbing to the limitations of partisan views or the distortions of subjectivity. These issues necessitated the selection of appropriate research methods and is the subject of the



chapter that follows. The application of appropriate research methods held the potential of revealing the nature of the problems in the field and could bring fuller understanding of the symptoms. Identifying these symptoms and raising the practical and theoretical issues of the commonplaces would promote the dialogue and debate that Schwab sought.

Schwab's approach therefore held the promise of achieving a meaningful deliberation that would generate options and lead to consensus that would bring to fruition the translation of the Holocaust as subject matter into an appropriate and tailored curriculum for Herzlia Weizmann Primary School.

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## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

The previous chapters have described the motivation for the study and revealed its origins in practical, personal and shared experience in a specific educational context. It was the sui generis context with characteristics and circumstances unique to itself that shaped the needs and therefore the potential solutions for the curriculum in this setting. The study sought a greater understanding of the macro and micro influences impacting on the context in order to respond to the specificity of the given case.

The generalizations produced by quantitative research would not have addressed the complexities and the uniqueness of the setting. A more eminently suited approach lay in qualitative or naturalistic research which uses a holistic and eclectic approach in order to generate its characteristic descriptiveness and in-depth analysis<sup>1</sup>. This descriptive detail has been aptly portrayed by Clifford Geertz as 'thick description'.

Thick description involves literal description of the entity being evaluated, circumstances, characteristics, people involved and the nature of the community in which it is located ... [It] also involves interpreting the meaning of such demographic and descriptive data in terms of cultural norms and mores, community values, deep seated attitudes, motives and the like (Geertz 1981:11).

The 'thick' description and the qualitative approach would not only develop a description of the field but would also be open-ended and allow the direction of the research to be moulded by the nuances and discoveries that would emerge from the field.

Ethnography, a form of qualitative research developed by anthropologists encourages this intensive yet wide approach to researching the practical case. The ethnographer seeks to understand through direct participation and close observation rather than by measurement or prediction. This determines both the method and the outcome of the research. —

Ethnography goes beyond a formalistic treatment of a social phenomenon or setting. Its perspective is more eclectic and indirect in that it considers the much wider array of interconnected factors that influence the phenomena ... Ethnography is distinguished from other types of research in that the hypothesis: problems and issues under study are not formulated from the outset but develop in the course of the study itself (Steinberg 1983:37).

The ethnographic approach offered a means of studying the setting that would reveal the difficulties and needs while simultaneously guiding their resolution. In this approach any imposed objectives or prepackaged curricular texts would be relegated to the sidelines as possible options with the main focus on the chief endeavour of promoting innovation and development based on actual and unique needs of the specific field.

In anthropology, ethnography encompasses both a process and a product. Its application in this study and in education in general has been focussed on the process and techniques rather than the product of ethnography.

There are two distinct meanings in the term ethnography - the first as a set of methods and techniques for data collection and the second as the written record that is the product of the ethnographic techniques. It is the first meaning of the term that is often used inter-changeably with case study (Merriam 1985:207)<sup>2</sup>.

To apply the ethnographic approach in this study, its characteristic methodological tools were employed. The single most important feature is the role of the researcher as participant-observer thereby making the researcher himself into the chief instrument of the research. This was especially appropriate in the case study of Herzlia Weizmann where the researcher was a fully integrated staff member of the school. As the co-ordinator of Jewish Studies of the three primary school of the United Herzlia Schools, over many years, the researcher, not only headed the school's department of Jewish Studies and supervised curriculum development, but in addition also taught the subject of the Holocaust to the pupils of Herzlia Weizmann<sup>3</sup>. Participation and observation were

therefore an integral part of these roles and were easily and unobtrusively carried out for the purposes of this research. The initial awareness of the problems of Holocaust education had itself emerged from the grassroots and practical level of the researcher's professional role in the school.

Before giving consideration to other techniques in the ethnographic approach, the primary technique of participant-observer required closer consideration. The potential, and the problems of this technique had received increased interest in the light of the recognition given to teachers as being eminently qualified as researchers of school life and education. Lawrence Stenhouse has written of the role of teachers as researchers.

It is not enough that teachers work should be studied. They [the teachers] need to study it themselves ... schools [must] come to see themselves as research and development institutions rather than clients of research and development agencies (Stenhouse 1978:273).

In this study the teacher as a researcher took what Stenhouse termed a 'research stance' - a disposition to examine one's own practice critically and systematically (Stenhouse 1978:156). In this way the case study responded to Stenhouse's call for the development of a theoretical language for educators (Stenhouse 1976:156) and the development of categories of teachers knowledge<sup>4</sup>. To achieve this the teacher had to cultivate appropriate habits and techniques such as those used in the ethnographic approach.

The role of participant-observer is not without debate over issues that range from philosophical - ethical criticisms to practical questions such as gaining access to the field<sup>5</sup>. These specific examples did not pertain to this research by virtue of the researcher's ongoing involvement where analysis in the field was understood to be intrinsic to his role as co-ordinator and curriculum-planner. This notwithstanding, each participant-observer has to define his or her place in the setting on a continuum ranging from engaged participant to detached observer<sup>6</sup>. Because of the multiple levels of involvement, the researcher in this study recognized the nature of his precarious balance as he shifted between the role of professional involvement and the separate yet integrated

role of researcher. This balance was what Bud Khelif referred to in his term 'involved detachment' (Khelif 1974:393).

A central criticism of qualitative research is the issue of subjectivity. The observer of any setting always acts as a filter with personal bias and subjectivity playing a leading role in informing the description and understanding of the setting. J.F. Hansen noted that observation is always from a particular perspective and 'no observer is without presupposition and cultural frames that influence his or her presentation' (Hansen 1976:53). In terms of qualitative research subjectivity has gained recognition as a strength.

Qualitative researchers wear their badge of subjectivity with pride, arguing that it is only with an empathetic understanding of persons and their actions within different settings that one can learn of the 'true meanings' ascribed to the situation by the participants themselves (Rist 1981:265).

The participant-observer therefore could not be neutral and all the more so when the researcher is himself a key player in the setting, and in addition is a researcher of his own practice. In view of this, the importance of the 'thick' description became heightened because it would take cognizance of the researcher's involvement and of his assumptions which were revealed and clarified through the unfolding description and analysis.

In the face of criticisms that the subjectivity and individualism of qualitative research diminished its reliability and its validity (Pollard 1984:183), there was a need to verify findings<sup>7</sup>. To enhance the credibility of their research results, ethnographers employ a variety of tools (Pelto in Wolcott 1976:44). Similarly validation for this study was sought by employing such a multi-instrument approach (Wax 1971:10). The eclectic and multiple approach is encapsulated by 'triangulation' where the use of more than one method of data collected was used as a check and a verification (Denzin 1980:211)<sup>8</sup>.

In addition to the major technique of participation-observation, this study employed other

techniques in common use in ethnography and which encouraged the triangulation of method and technique. A second technique was that of interviewing key informants. To elicit a wide response the researcher employed numerous models of interviewing for this study. These included individual and group interviews, highly structured interviews with focused questioning as well as open-ended and informal questioning.

In the case of key informants such as teachers, pupils and parents, a loose framework of questions created an orientation that encouraged openness and flexibility. This enabled the researcher to probe more deeply and allowed respondents opportunities to discuss issues and uncover problems. Ideas and issues were brought from one interview to the next thereby stimulating the dialogical interplay between respondents and creating a deliberative process. Thus, for example, the question of the age at which to begin teaching the subject of the Holocaust to children, or the use of cinematic interpretation, resulted in different opinions which were conveyed to respondents who then joined the debate that was being generated. In this way the interviews incorporated a variety of issues which were carried by this momentum and gave a richness to the deliberations that emerged.

The researcher, in accordance with the recommendation made by Lawrence Stenhouse, adopted an open and transparent approach. The purpose of the research was explained to the respondents who were also encouraged by the knowledge that their responses would contribute to improving the school and to the progress of its pupils<sup>9</sup>. In contrast and to avoid the pitfalls of pupils 'playing to the teacher' and attempting to please by offering 'right' answers, the researcher sought opportunities to collect data unobtrusively and in an integrated fashion as an integral feature of the school curriculum. For example, questions pertinent to the study were inserted into regular tests. The researcher for the same reason carried out his data collection stretched intermittently over a period of three years and was cautious not to create a distorted presence of the subject in the school through an intensive or direct, ongoing focus. The researcher, though focused on a single school, also drew on observation and participation at the two sister Herzlia primary

schools in order to develop a comparative view and to draw on perspectives outside of the researcher's direct involvement at Herzlia Weizmann. These insights and observations were frequent points of reference and are repeatedly referred to throughout the case study.

In addition to the interviews, questionnaires were also sent to parents to widen the field of data collection. To stimulate further comparison teachers in similar schools in South Africa and in other countries were interviewed and completed questionnaires. While this took the study beyond its immediate context, it served to highlight points of commonality in Holocaust education in a multitude of settings and these were included in the study. At the same time this approach also highlighted differences and confirmed the *sui generis* nature of each individual setting.

A third important technique used in the study and an important complement to the techniques of participant observation and interviews, was the study of documents<sup>10</sup>. Pertri Peltó referred to this technique as an unobtrusive measure that includes a study of official documents, records, syllabi, newsletters, magazines and pupils' work (Peltó in Wolcott 1976:36). Burgess argued for the importance of the study of documents in its widest sense in an ethnography because it would yield insights beyond the observed present and would give an important historical dimension to the study (Burgess 1983:131)<sup>11</sup>. Content analysis in this study included such documents and included additional materials such as library books, artefacts, posters, news articles and the media both within the school and in the wider milieu. All these sources were particularly pertinent in terms of Herzlia School as a community school serving an ethnic-religious minority in a larger society and wider milieu.

The techniques of research and the research process described above satisfied the six techniques listed by Owens as being in harmony with the basic assumptions of naturalistic research designs. He tabulates them as being prolonged data gathering on site; triangulation; corroborating the interpretation of the data; collecting referential material;

developing thick description; and engaging in peer consultation (Owens in Merriam 1985:211). These typical qualitative techniques are also consistent with Joseph Schwab's conclusions about the need for a thorough understanding of the practical as central to the process of translating scholarship into curriculum. Fox explained Schwab's call for such research in the following way:

'[It] should inform us of what we are actually doing or not doing in the classroom before we respond to the call for change (Fox 1985:80).

For Schwab meaningful and defensible curriculum can only be developed through deliberation that responds to the specific context as a holistic phenomenon through a thorough understanding of the elements and facets of the setting and the dynamics of the relationship between such components. The thick description would heighten awareness of the specific qualities while offering a basis for comparison with similar settings.

Schwab's rejection of predetermined and imposed curricula allowed the development of curricula that emerged and was shaped by deliberation. This approach was consistent and in concert with the open ended nature of the ethnographic approach that created the opportunity of delving into the field, suspending prejudgement and allowing issues to emerge and evolve.

Ethnography is best served when the researcher feels free to 'muddle about' in the field setting and to pursue hunches or to address himself to problems that he deems interesting or worthy of sustained interest (Wolcott 1976:25).

A valuable contribution would be made to this process in the form of the teacher as researcher if caution was practised to avoid the danger of distortion and unchecked assumptions. The eclectic approach and the triangulation of techniques that are intrinsic to this research course addressed these issues. Similarly the holistic and eclectic approach secured the desired richness of description and brought into dialogue the players and their viewpoints, and the important perspectives of both the macro and micro dimensions<sup>12</sup>.

Qualitative research and ethnography must perforce have a cut-off point that effectively



would freeze the present through the act of description.

The ethnographer attempts at least figuratively to stay the process, to hold it still ... [in] a play uneasily called the 'ethnographic present' (Wolcott 1976:24).

In contrast to this notion of the 'ethnographic present', curriculum innovation and development by definition implies a projection and a commitment to the future. The qualitative research method and the ethnographic approach in particular offered a means of establishing a foundation securely rooted in the practical which prepared the way for dialogue and for promoting the process of deliberation toward the development of an appropriate, responsible and defensible curriculum.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE CASE STUDY

Herzlia Weizmann is one of three sister schools within a single united system, although each of the schools displayed qualities unique to itself. The study was greatly enriched by including research, references and comparisons between Herzlia Weizmann and the sister schools<sup>1</sup>.

The youngest age groups, Sub A - Sub B (6 and 7 years), were not excluded from the case study but the focus of the research lay with the upper primary classes, Standards one to Standard four (8 to 11 years). The research was centred on the year 1993 although research data was collected and further research was carried out over four years from 1991 - 1995. The four year period was significant as it avoided any distortions that may have resulted from an exclusive focus on one particular year which may have proved atypical<sup>2</sup>. Similarly, to avoid undue emphasis and distortion, data was collected and research was carried out at different stages of the year rather than at the time of commemoration or during special events. As previously described data was collected unobtrusively through indirect methods such as content analysis of worksheets, essays and tests; and more directly through observation, interviews, surveys and discussions<sup>3</sup>.

The description and analysis has been organized around the curriculum as the central feature of the school. The curriculum was understood to be more than the 'formal curriculum' - the official curriculum as documented in the school's syllabus. It included the 'informal curriculum', the 'extra-curriculum' and the 'hidden curriculum', the latter being described by Meighan as 'all the other things that are learnt during schooling in addition to the official curriculum' (Meighan 1981:5). Despite the convenience of using the curriculum as the organizing factor, it was necessary to recognize the complexities of the curriculum and the relationship of the parts to the whole. The study had to therefore take into consideration the explicit and actual curriculum as it was manifest in the school, and the less tangible but telling, implicit, covert and hidden curriculum, intended and unintended, all of which reflected the ethos, and the complex influences of the context. F.P. Buckland (1982:168) offered a

useful model to illustrate these dimensions<sup>4</sup>. The model informed the approach adopted in this study and served to caution against a one dimensional approach to curriculum. The lack of clear boundaries and the interlinked nature of the parts - the formal, informal, extra and hidden curricula, necessitated a flexible approach. The use of the curriculum as an organizing factor remained restrictive, the study thus also drew on the alternative perspectives of Schwab's four commonplaces of pupils, teachers, subject matter and milieu.

### THE SCHOOL – HISTORY & ETHOS

Situated in Sea Point, Cape Town, Herzlia Weizmann is one of three Herzlia Hebrew Primary Day Schools in the city which forms the network of feeder schools for the central Herzlia Middle and High Schools. The range of classes in the primary schools is from pre-Sub A to the graduating year of Standard Four. Originally an independent congregational school, Weizmann was established in 1953 by the Green and Sea Point Hebrew Congregation, the local Orthodox synagogue. In 1976 Weizmann consolidated the already close ties with the Herzlia school system by amalgamating to form the United Herzlia Schools (U.H.S.), which share common aims, ideology, curriculum and financing.

In the 1950s the long established congregational 'Chedorim' - extra curricular supplementary classes for Jewish education, were slowly absorbed by the burgeoning Hebrew Day School Movement. Jewish communal leadership identified the need for effective Jewish education in order to secure Jewish survival. The motifs of survival and continuity were considered especially significant in the aftermath of the Holocaust. Zvi Adar, for example, in his 1965 report on Jewish education in South Africa, noted that the events of the Holocaust and the establishment of Israel contributed to the sense of urgency and the rapid growth of the Hebrew Day Schools in South Africa (Adar 1965). Bernard Steinberg identified additional factors such as anti-semitism, dissatisfaction with state schooling and the impact of Christian National ideology in state schools. (Steinberg 1986:369).

By the 1980s Herzlia Weizmann was functioning at capacity level with an enrolment

of 463 pupils and the United Herzlia Schools with an enrolment reaching 2 000 pupils (Levitan 1983:34). Despite a steady decline thereafter, largely due to emigration, the Herzlia system, a decade later, still absorbed over 80% of the Jewish school-going population of Cape Town (Herzlia Headlines November 1994)<sup>5</sup>.

The school perceived its role as the preservation and nurturing of Jewish identity. Its formula for securing Jewish continuity is spelled out in its prospectus.

The Herzlia Schools not only offer a high standard of secular education but also provides a uniquely Jewish environment as a background for the formal curriculum in Jewish Studies, Jewish History, Hebrew and secular studies, which enables the children to discover their roots and to develop a strong sense of their own identity (UHS Guide to Parents 1987).

In order to fulfill these objectives, Hebrew and Jewish Studies are taught as an integral part of the school day. Each day began with *Tefillah*-Prayer services, and in the upper primary school 14 of 50 weekly periods were devoted to Hebrew and Jewish Studies. In addition all festival and commemoration days such as Holocaust Memorial Day, are observed and celebrated in special ceremonies and functions.

Although Weizmann School originated as a congregational school, on amalgamation with the Herzlia system it adopted the Herzlia model of being a community school. Weizmann is therefore open to all Jewish children irrespective of religious or congregational affiliation, but with the proviso that all pupils attend Hebrew and Jewish Studies lessons<sup>6</sup>. The school not only caters for all shades of Jewish opinion (Guide to Parents 1985:3) but is also open to non-Jewish pupils though this enrolment has never attracted more than 10% of the total enrolment.

The United Herzlia Schools subscribes to an ideology defined as 'National-Traditional'. Close examination of the motivating factors for the terminology and its development, reveals the unique characteristics and the ethos of the South Africa Jewish community. Removed from the traditional society of its origin in Eastern Europe, South African Jews, like their counterparts in other Western societies have

become increasingly secularized. Allie Dubb, in his study of Johannesburg Jewry, pointed out that South African Jewry experienced a similar pattern to that of North American Jewry where both religious observances and a good deal of institutional life of the synagogue had become secularized and drained of religious content (Dubb 1977:114).

Jewish religious practice has been increasingly replaced by a more secular ethnic ideology that found expression in Zionism. The central role of Zionism in the shaping of Jewish ethnic identity in South Africa has been analyzed by Gideon Shimoni.

Jews in other English speaking countries ... normatively perceived themselves as a member of a religious group ... in contrast South African Jews have always perceived themselves at least as much in terms of national belonging as of religious belonging. It was Zionism which mediated this self-perception (Shimoni 1980:75).

Shimoni attributed the hegemony of Zionism amongst South African Jews to the impact of the Zionism of the Lithuanian Jewish immigrants - the forebearers of the majority of the community, but also to the polarisation of population groups in South Africa in what he described as 'mandatory pluralism' (Shimoni 1980:2)<sup>7</sup>. This resulted in a strongly developed ethnic identity amongst South African Jews irrespective of their degree of religious commitment and affiliation.

In describing the religious expression of the community, Jocelyn Hellig points to the uniqueness of South African Jewish Orthodoxy. The vast majority of Jews are affiliated to orthodox synagogues but are non-observant of the meticulous observance of Jewish ritual (Hellig 1986:237)<sup>8</sup>. Traditional practices in varying degrees of observance still, however, form a central dimension of both communal and individual Jewish life in South Africa.

It is within this context that the religious dimension of the school should be understood, both in its earlier role as a congregational school and later as a community school. The school has retained its affiliations with the Green and Sea Point Hebrew Congregation and the majority of its families continue to be drawn from this congregation, whose brand of Judaism is still reflected in the school.

These modes of identity of Zionism and of non-observant Orthodoxy were the basis for the school's formula of 'National-Traditional' Jewish education<sup>9</sup>. Shimoni refers to this formula as authentically reflecting the normative code of identity of South African Jewry<sup>10</sup>. The National-Traditional ideology is thus central to understanding the ethnic and religious dimensions of the school ethos. This study concerning itself with the memorialisation and teaching of the Holocaust at Herzlia Weizmann, had to therefore locate the place of the Holocaust, and to understand it in the context of the religio-ethnic framework of the community and its schools. Before doing so, however, a fuller description of the school ethos and structure is required.

In addition to its ideology another important dimension in the school ethos is its philosophy of education and its educational practices. The philosophy of education can be described as humanistic, giving pupils a strong sense of their own worth while being able to relate to others and to co-operate with them (Parent Guide 1987:1). The humanist position is also evident in the concern expressed for the individual child and the fulfillment of his or her potential according to personal aptitude and ability (Parent Guide 1987:1). Thus the school has well developed auxiliary services, special provisions for children in need of support or enrichment, and regular liaison and seminars between teachers, parents and the principal.

Brenda Levitan in a comprehensive study of the school and its Jewish Studies curriculum carried out in the early 1980s, describes a sense of 'cosiness' and the pupil's apparent devotion to the school (Levitan 1983:71). The school enjoys small classes and a low teacher-pupil ratio. The diminishing school population in the 1990s - especially after the relocation of the Standard Five classes from all Herzlia primary schools to the Middle School in 1992, was perceived as an opportunity to further enhance the quality of cosiness and intimacy<sup>11</sup>.

The school's philosophy of education embraced a dynamic openness in its pedagogy. New and progressive methods were regularly introduced. These, for example, included project methods and the rejection of rote learning for open-ended inquiry long before it would gain credence in state education. (Parent Guide : 1986)<sup>12</sup>. The

openness of the approach encouraged experimentation and innovation which Levitan contrasts with the rigid and stifling constraints prevalent in Government Schools at that time. (Levitan 1983:71).

Part of the reason for the atmosphere of contentment felt by many teachers [at Weizmann], is the freedom they experience in having a say in curricula development and in exerting a personal influence over educational matters. (Levitan 1983:108).

The school did in a broad sense follow the syllabus laid down by the Cape Department of Education (now the Western Cape Education Department)<sup>13</sup>. This assured parents that departmental requirements were being fulfilled, but parents were also made aware of the school's openness to innovation.

Being a private school allows us to augment and expand on these, (Departmental guidelines), to develop curricula which may be meaningful and relevant to the needs of our children. Because society is not static, curriculum development is an ongoing process at our school (Guide to Parents 1989).

The openness to innovate and experiment and the encouragement of curriculum development in general, were significant for this study which received full support and co-operation at all levels in the school.

The structure of the UHS system is centralized as an umbrella organization; the central administration concerns itself with finances, recruiting, and developing general policy. The Education Director and various consultants act in an advisory capacity leaving the educational dimension largely the responsibility of the principals and their departmental heads. In the more specialized subjects of the primary schools, the trend has been towards greater co-ordination, this being evident in the schools department of psychologists, Hebrew, and Jewish Studies. Thus the heads of the department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies for the three primary schools regularly visit each school to guide and-supervise teachers.

The Principal's committee is responsible to the United Herzlia School's executive

which is appointed by the UHS Committee which is in its turn elected from the general parent population. Parental involvement does not usually include pedagogical issues or curricula content and parent committees of each school assist in administration and financing such as special projects for fundraising. Outside of occasional queries regarding education such matters are deferred to the principals and teachers. The role of the parents nonetheless affirms the school's status as a community school. But this goes beyond the families of the school itself. Support from the wider Jewish community is attested to in that United Herzlia School, as a private school, is financially autonomous, but relies very heavily on the Jewish community's United Communal Fund (U.C.F.)<sup>14</sup>. Patronage and sponsorship is often forthcoming from members of the community whether or not they have or have had children in the system (Kessel 1983:33). By the same token the school is fully a community school and takes in all pupils of the community irrespective of their financial background<sup>15</sup>.

Communal solidarity and support for the Herzlia School system has been summed up by a previous director and principal:

The school belongs to the parents ... the Jewish community as a whole is my employer (Kessel 1983:33).

Herzlia School is a community school in every sense of the word and could be expected to reflect communal attitudes and aspirations, and communal identity. It is regarded as a central and vital communal institution in Cape Town as the source of survival and continuity and the source of community pride. The school has often been referred to as the 'gem' and the 'jewel' in the crown of the Cape Town Jewish Community (Herzlia Headlines No 40 1986; No 49 1993).

### THE FORMAL CURRICULUM

The formal curriculum of the school is made up of numerous subjects which are allocated a varying number of 30 minute lessons per subject. Of these many subjects only Jewish Studies has what may be referred to as a formal component that requires the study of the Holocaust. This has, however, not always been the case.



## A. THE HEBREW CURRICULUM

In 1978 a policy decision was taken to restructure the existing Hebrew curriculum, and to divide the Judaica of the school into separate Hebrew and Jewish Studies departments.

The existing *Ivrit Be-Ivrit*, living language approach to teaching all Judaica subjects directly in the Hebrew medium, was not successful<sup>16</sup>. In addition to language and literature this included prayer, Jewish History, Laws and Traditions.

The already existing stream of Hebrew students indicated that difficulties with the language itself was impeding the development of Judaic studies. (Levitan 1983:47).

The Hebrew Readers in use at that time in the senior primary school demonstrated this point which is especially evident in the Holocaust sections. Originating in Israel these readers were generally arranged according to the sequence of the year cycle and its festivals. The anthologies included appropriate stories and poems and conveyed extracts followed by content questions and language exercises. Questions were generally facile and the language and grammar had little to do with content. Thus for example one exercise required the mechanical negating of sentences drawn from a Hebrew translation of Anne Frank's diary. Another exercise deleted chosen letters from words in the text in order to drill spelling<sup>17</sup>. This approach not only reduced content to serving language instruction but it limited suitable exploration of the content and left the weaker Hebrew students frustrated and often without access to Judaic sources<sup>18</sup>. The examples also demonstrate a lack of sensitivity and understanding in the teaching of Holocaust materials.

The new developments of 1978 divided Judaica lessons into 8 lessons of Hebrew instruction and 4 lessons of Jewish Studies per week. This division included areas of overlap<sup>19</sup> and although not in the case of Weizmann, in the sister schools the same teacher has often been employed to teach both subjects. This division at Weizmann resulted in the Hebrew staff neither directly nor formally teaching about the Holocaust. The Head of the Hebrew Department explained:

The Jewish Studies used to be with the Hebrew Department and then we used to discuss the Holocaust in our lessons, but since Jewish Studies is a separate department I tend to leave it for Jewish Studies.  
(Interview 18: Hebrew Teachers)<sup>20</sup>.

Despite this there was however overlap as festivals and memorial days were generally taught and presented by both the Hebrew and the Jewish Studies Departments - even though each had its own approach and its own emphasis. Reciprocity was evident in the preparation of ceremonies and in the roster devised for co-ordinating such events.

The Hebrew staff also indicated that the absence of Holocaust related texts in the language programme did not preclude the presence of the subject in a less direct fashion.

A: I always push the subject in, it comes up for example with the festival of Purim when we talk about the Jews being persecuted, and also at Pesach, and in Torah stories about persecution

(Interview 18: Hebrew Teachers).

Teachers also indicated that they intentionally drew comparisons and integrated the Holocaust into the lessons at hand.

S: We present them [the pupils] with parallels.

A: In the upper standards we get into discussion very much

(Interview 18: Hebrew Teachers).

Nonetheless these teachers pointed out that it was not only a case of the absence of texts, but also the problem of restricted time and a fairly rigid and pressured language programme that had diminished the opportunity for such discussions.

S: We discuss it if there is a specific question.

I: In Jewish Studies the pupils bring articles for discussion.

S: I don't see it, but then they have the outlet in Jewish Studies which we don't have in Hebrew.

(Interview 18: Hebrew Teachers).

In summary it could be stated that although the Hebrew teachers sought to include the subject where appropriate - time pressure, a prescribed language programme, and

the knowledge that the subject was taught in Jewish Studies, had limited the presence of the Holocaust in Weizmann's formal Hebrew programme.

## B. THE JEWISH STUDIES CURRICULUM

Teaching about the Holocaust was not identified as a separate and independent entity, its formal location was found in the wider programme of Jewish Studies (henceforth J.S.). Its shift from the Hebrew syllabus and its manifestations in the J.S. Departments requires closer examination.

Rabbi Louis Herring who was appointed Director of Judaica for the entire system in 1978, initiated and devised curricular proposals for the newly established J.S. Department. His new syllabus compiled with the assistance of Rabbi Nachum Rom included *Tefilla* (Prayer); *Chaggim* (Festivals); *Chumash* (Bible); History; 'Dinim' (Laws) and *Mussar* (Ethics) (Herring and Rom 1978)<sup>21</sup>. The components of Jewish History focussed on the Bible period so that contemporary Jewish History such as a recommended fourth segment on Zionism was 'tacked on to the end' and this did not include the Holocaust<sup>22</sup>.

The Holocaust as a subject was thus not included in the newly devised Jewish History syllabus and remained attached to the *Chaggim* programme - literally translated as 'Festivals' but more accurately referring to the year cycle. This was in accordance with the previous approach in which preparation for festivals had been taught in Hebrew. This adopted model consisted of formally teaching about the history, observances, customs and rituals in the J.S. curriculum, just prior to each festival or commemoration day, strictly according to the year cycle. These lessons were always followed by a ceremony of celebration or commemoration on the day of the festival or upon its eve. The model is henceforth referred to as the 'Chaggim Paradigm' of which Holocaust teaching at the time of the study proved to be a typical example.

Not all of Rabbi Herring's survived his departure in the late 1970s although he had effected an intensification of Judaica and a permanent structural division between Hebrew and Jewish Studies taught in the vernacular. A formal J.S. Syllabus had not

come to fruition and the general feeling was that insufficient thought and planning had impaired both its preparation and implementation and that it did not address the needs of the child<sup>23</sup>. The principal at the time of Levitan's study made the following observation:

I see the biggest problem facing the one of J.S. today is the fact that the curriculum has not been devised with much thought ... the people involved are not educationalists involved in the primary school  
(Levitan 1983:125).

This latter comment was equally applicable to the curricula proposals drawn up or expanded upon by subsequent directors of Judaica<sup>24</sup>. Their various syllabi outlines were never adopted and a coherent curriculum never emerged. Teachers had to cope with the structural division between Hebrew and J.S. and the requirements of the 'Chaggim Paradigm', and they were left to their own resources to devise suitable materials and programmes. This situation applied not only to Holocaust education or to 'Chaggim' - Festivals in general, but to all Jewish Studies in the Herzlia Primary schools at that time<sup>25</sup>.

Throughout the time of these developments, teaching about the Holocaust was limited to preparation for *Yom Hashoah Ve Ha'Gevurah* Holocaust Memorial Day (henceforth *Yom Hashoah*), and in keeping with the *Chaggim* Paradigm and Festivals dimension of J.S., was taught as a prelude to the commemoration day. The rootedness of this approach was revealed when an earlier Director of Judaica attempted to wrest the subject from the calendar chronology - a move rejected by teachers as being educationally unsound.

*Chaggim* are required [by the director] to be taught not at the time of the festival, because the director feels this is not done in enough depth. However, the teachers are opposed to this and all festivals explanations should be done at the time of each festival (Levitan 1983:130).

This designation and persistence played a significant role in determining the approach, nature and content of the lessons for teaching festivals and for any future proposals for teaching about the Holocaust.

It was also on this premise that the researcher as the new J.S. teacher at Weizmann had to devise materials for teaching about the Holocaust prior to the commemoration day in April 1985. Having taken up the post just three months prior, a stop-gap approach was adapted which drew on available materials, stories from Hebrew readers translated into English, and recommendations made by the principal. The ad-hoc basis was entirely in keeping with the state of development of J.S. at that time. The Diary of Anne Frank was used for the Standard Four lessons since the school library held a sufficient stock of copies for each pupil. The Standard Three classes were taught about the partisan heroine, Chanah Senesh from texts translated from old Hebrew syllabi. Seeking a positive, life affirming dimension, the Standard Twos were taught about the Righteous Gentile, Raoul Wallenberg, the rescuer of Hungarian Jews. Since the Standard Five classes were responsible for a ceremony for the school's commemoration, they were given an outline of observances associated with memorialization<sup>26</sup>.

The above hastily prepared programme is described in detail because although the designation of themes and materials were largely random, the material was none-the-less age appropriate and represented the first attempts at devising a suitably differentiated and graded approach. It is also significant because it formed the core for development and consolidation in subsequent years.

By 1993, when the Standard Five classes were moved to the Herzlia Middle School, this development, which was typical of the evolving J.S. curriculum, had jelled sufficiently to be able to present a school-based, graded syllabus to the school's professional and lay executive. The initial draft of the syllabus in 1989 did not make specific mention of the Holocaust which was understood to be a component of the Chaggim - Festivals unit of the syllabus. By the time of the final draft in 1993 the consolidation of the formal syllabus presented to the School Executive, did include specific Holocaust projects which were given special mention due to the increased attention the subject was receiving generally at the time of various fiftieth year anniversaries.

The Jewish Studies programme contained the following formal units for teaching

about the Holocaust:

### B.1. Jewish Studies - Lower Primary : Sub A - Std 1

While the lower primary school classes were not taught about the Holocaust in a formal, set syllabus, the significance of the commemoration day was mentioned in varying degrees and in accordance with the interest generated. In the lower standards this interest was minimal even when it was initiated by the teacher. In 1992 the Sub B Jewish Studies teacher thus reported - "In Sub B we wrote just the name Yom HaShoah and then after that we drew six candles." (Interview 18: Hebrew Teachers). Pupils' exercise books reflected this (Appendix: A.1. and A.2.), but such presentation was not a requirement and was typical of the lower primary school where teachers were left to decide on how (if at all) they wished to present the subject. Similarly class visits to the memorial candles in the school foyer on Yom HaShoah were based on teachers discretion as were any expressions or markers of sadness for that day<sup>27</sup>.

### B.2. Jewish Studies - Standard Two

Two lessons of thirty minutes were devoted to the subject in Standard Two and the focused on the theme of Righteous Gentiles - the altruistic acts of rescuing Jewish victims during the war. The content alternated between the stories of Raoul Wallenberg<sup>28</sup> and the rescue of Danish Jewry in 1943<sup>29</sup>. In 1994 with the advent of the film 'Schindler's List', Oscar Schindler became an additional focus and celebrated example of the Righteous Gentiles.

The story of the rescue of Danish Jewry was the chosen subject in 1992 and again in 1993 when the fiftieth year of the rescue was commemorated. The method employed was a dramatic story telling by the teacher which followed a brief background to the events. Pupils entered a suitable text into their exercise books and were asked to illustrate the story alongside the text which read:

We remember the bravery of those who fought back, and the  
Righteous Gentiles who saved Jews during the War. We honour the

Danish people who saved the Jews of Denmark (Appendix: A.3.).

In 1992 the Danish mother of a member of staff who was visiting Cape Town addressed the Standard Two pupils on the story of her rescue<sup>30</sup>. This was video taped and excerpts of the address were used in 1993 but much of the impact was lost in the video. A more effective resource used in 1994 was the viewing of excerpts from a feature film The Only Way (1967) which dramatized the flight from Denmark.

### B.3. Jewish Studies : Standard Three

The focus in the standard was Jewish resistance during the war and particularly the heroine and poetess, Chanah Senesh (1921-1944). She had left her native Hungary due to anti-semitism and as a committed Zionist had settled on a kibbutz in Israel. During the war she volunteered to join the British army in order to return to Hungary to save her imperilled mother and community. After parachuting into Yugoslavia she was captured and later executed. Despite her abortive mission - along with the partisans and Ghetto fighters, she came to epitomize Jewish resistance and particularly the redemptive role of Zionism<sup>31</sup>.

Pupils received a note and worksheet which included two of Chanah Senesh's best known poems which were explored through classroom discussion (Appendix: A.4.). In 1992 Dr Tzilli Reisenberger addressed the Standard Three pupils on the subject of Senesh as poetess and heroine<sup>32</sup>. This address was videotaped and formed the basis for a second lesson in 1993 when excerpts were viewed along with the first 20 minutes of a feature film and docu-drama about her life, titled Hannah's War (1991). It was suggested that pupils hire the video to view at home although they were warned about difficult scenes of torture. Pupils were also directed to the school library which housed a copy of The Diary of Hannah Senesh (Senesh 1971).

Three lesson periods had been devoted to this subject, the first involved the telling of her story; the second was used for written exercises and a study of her poems, and the third was devoted to consolidation using video footage. Less than a fortnight later pupils were tested on the subject with questions ranging from basic content to those requiring interpretation and application.

Examples: (1993) Why is Chanah Senesh regarded as a Jewish heroine?

(1994) (a) Why did Chanah Senesh return to Hungary?

(b) She wrote 'Happy is the Match' and thinks of herself as a match because ...

(APPENDIX A.5.)

#### B.4. Jewish Studies - Standard Four

In Standard Four, prior to *Yom HaShoah*, pupils were introduced to the subject and were reminded of what they had learned in previous years. Through discussions and a worksheet, the subject was introduced via a study of the Jewish calendar. (Appendix: A.6.)<sup>33</sup>. Previously the Standard Fives had engaged in a more detailed exploration of Holocaust commemoration and ways of remembering, but with their move into the Middle School, this was only briefly discussed in the Standard Four classes. The main subject for the Standard Four year was the story of Anne Frank and her diary.

Following the approach adopted in the previous standards, the teacher introduced the context before reading selected extracts of the source material. Sufficient copies of the Diary were available so that once the selection of readings were presented each pupil could read the Diary at their own leisure. A summary note (Appendix: A.7.) placed Anne Frank in the context of commemorating the Holocaust and her famous affirmation of faith in humanity was also highlighted<sup>34</sup>. The lessons were followed by a lesson introducing supplementary readings and texts such as Anne Frank's own fiction stories, and the accounts given by her rescuers and her step-sister<sup>35</sup>. A final lesson was used to screen a thirty minute documentary titled The Legacy of Anne (1967) which was filmed in the secret annex and contained an interview with her father - the sole survivor of the Frank family. Issues such as the reason for her writing the diary, claims by revisionists that it was a fraud, and suitable illustration of the Annex, also featured in these lessons.

In 1994 the Royal Netherlands Embassy and the Cape Jewish Board of Deputies brought the international photo-documentary exhibition Anne Frank In The World to Cape Town. Though exhibitions and their impact have for purposes of this study been



relegated to the section dealing with Informal and Extra-Curricular activities, in the case of this exhibition, it related directly to the formal curriculum which was adapted in 1994 in order to maximise the use of the exhibition in enhancing the curriculum<sup>36</sup>. The exhibition, mounted by The Anne Frank Centre in Amsterdam, was billed as 'an International exhibition to promote tolerance and understanding' (Exhibition Programme, CT 1994)<sup>37</sup>. Anne Frank's story was both a focus and a conduit as a case study for exploring racism's effects and its dangers. The Anne Frank Exhibition had offered an opportunity that was used to vary the method rather than the content of the formal curriculum for Standard Four pupils at Weizmann.

Consolidation and re-enforcement were carried out shortly after the formal teaching through the means of a written test that included questions about Anne Frank, *Yom HaShoah* and the Calendar - *Omer*. Questions varied from knowledge to application and interpretation much as it did in the Standard Three tests.

For example:

1992 - *Yom HaShoah* is a day of memorial for ...

- The day of commemoration is observed on what day of the month of *Nissan*?

1993 - What value is there in remembering Righteous Gentiles such as Raoul Wallenberg and those who hid the Frank family?

Similar such questions were also carried over to the final assessment at the end of the school year (Appendix A.8.).

### C. INTEGRATION IN GENERAL STUDIES

Notwithstanding the clear division between subjects in the school and the allocation of the Holocaust to Jewish Studies, investigation revealed that there had been incidences of integration. Some of these were random while others had emanated from the pupils themselves. One such example was the case of a child in the art class who unexpectedly had elected to present the 'Avenue of the Righteous' at *Yad Vashem* Holocaust Memorial, as her portrayal of Jerusalem for a Jerusalem project<sup>38</sup>.

Integrated project work across the curriculum had received varying degrees of

emphasis in the school and was co-ordinated by different subject teachers.

Examples which included Holocaust related dimensions could be found in a number of English/History projects for Standard Fours and Fives (1989 - 92). A theme on the Middle Ages contrasted severe Jewish social and economic restrictions with a rich inner religio-cultural development that was paralleled in the Nazi oppression. Similarly the celebration of Sephardi/Spanish Jewish culture in 1992 involved Sephardi pupils in the class in researching the origins of their community in the Ottoman Empire and particularly on the island of Rhodes. Inevitably the fate and the demise of these communities under the Nazis was also recorded, as it was by a guest speaker who spoke of her pre-war childhood on Rhodes prior to the Nazi decimation of the community<sup>39</sup>.

The input on Holocaust in cross-curricula activities therefore did occur either by design or unintentionally, but it was always marginal to the theme, thus no integrated 'Holocaust Project' was carried out in any of the Herzlia Primary Schools. Such projects were perceived to be better suited to the senior school where they were being undertaken.

Interviews with the Standard Four class teacher offered the opportunity to examine the extent of integration outside the field of Judaica. Although an initial response indicated the perception there was no integration, during the interview the teacher referred to her use of the Holocaust as a familiar point of reference<sup>40</sup>.

In probing further the subject also appeared within the framework of English studies. This was evident in the choice of set 'readers' which are setwork books shared by small groups as part of the English literature and reading syllabi.<sup>41</sup> Similarly a theme in English literature focused on 'survival' and though this theme was far wider than the subject of the Holocaust, pupils were encouraged to read a number of books on this subject or set in the Holocaust period<sup>42</sup>. The list of books for this theme<sup>43</sup> reflected a strong presence of the subject of the Holocaust and typically one student losing sight of the theme of survival concluded her review of her book in the following way:

I recommend 'A Childhood' by Yona Oberski to anyone interested in

the Holocaust ("Survival Project" by C.S. 1991).

Another subject in the school curriculum where the Holocaust could conceivably be studied, was that of Guidance. However, as in the case of Hebrew, History and English, the subject did not appear as a formal unit or topic. The school counsellors did indicate that the subject arose in their discussions in class.

It arises in groups discussions about death, about man's inhumanity to man, and the treatment of people in war. It would also arise in discussions as comments by pupils ... but I never introduce it as a separate topic for consideration (Interview 6: School Counsellor)<sup>44</sup>.

The guidance lessons were used as a vehicle to have pupils express their concern and apprehensions particularly during the time of turbulence in South Africa and pupils did raise concern over changes, antisemitism and neo-Nazism.

When I talked about change in South Africa as I deliberately did last year (1993), there was mention made of right-wingers and that there were neo-Nazis. And, yes, they did talk about that 'three sevens' swastika. And yes, the connection was made with the Nazis (Interview 6: School Counsellor).

The specific subject of the Holocaust also came up in discussion and often in an indirect fashion.

Sometimes I've had children who come and tell me that they saw a video about, say - a child growing up in Germany, and that they found it interesting - they'll ask if I saw it (Interview 6: School Counsellor).

These incidences related above are not without significance. Pupils' exposure to the Holocaust through videos and through the news media - and the anxiety that these evoked, were just some of the many areas that would necessarily receive close consideration in the analysis of the case study and the preparation of an appropriate curriculum.

## THE INFORMAL CURRICULUM

The informal curriculum in this study refers to events, activities and materials that created an awareness of the Holocaust in the school - but that lay outside the formal lessons. School ceremonies while official and often very formal in character were none-the-less categorized as informal Curriculum. The division between formal and informal in this study is thus not a reference to manner or style of presentation but rather to their location in the school day.

## COMMEMORATION

The commemoration of the Holocaust at Weizmann School, as in the Jewish community, is observed on the day called *Yom Ha'Shoah Ve'Ha'Gvurah* which falls on the 27th of the Hebrew month of *Nissan* which roughly corresponds to late April<sup>45</sup>. This anniversary date was the focus of communal and school commemoration which at Weizmann was further centred on the special school assemblies and ceremonies on those days. A sampling of the content of the observance of memorial day and its ceremonies revealed the nature and nuances of commemoration at Weizmann School.

Preparation followed the format of the Chaggim paradigm with a member of the Judaica staff co-ordinating the activities<sup>46</sup>. At the weekly seminar aspects such as a text, appropriate music, decoration and logistical issues were discussed and confirmed, and then brought to the general staff. The ceremony and commemoration in accordance with school practice and Jewish tradition, were carried out on or prior to the anniversary date<sup>47</sup>. Parents were informed of the commemoration through the weekly newsletter which alerted them to commemoration activities in the community and reminded them of the cancellation of sport and cultural extra-murals on the memorial day.

In 1993 following a directive from the Director of Judaica requesting special commemoration of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto Uprising<sup>48</sup>, the 'Anthem of the Ghetto Fighters' was taught<sup>49</sup>. This was done prior to Passover so that a special

commemoration presentation could be performed at the school's annual Passover Seder evening for parents and fifty years to the day of the Ghetto Uprising (Appendix B.3.). A wall display of photographs<sup>50</sup> and a large annotated mural<sup>51</sup> about the Warsaw Ghetto formed a 'Wall of Remembrance' in the school foyer (Appendix B.1. and B.2.). This was displayed from Passover through the Memorial Day to Jerusalem Day, a full six weeks later. The school psychologist was consulted for advice regarding the suitability of the displays<sup>52</sup>.

The Memorial Day of 1993 was a typical example of observance in the school with a special ceremony at the morning prayers. In the junior primary (Standards A; B and One), a short ten minute candle lighting ceremony took place with a short address by a teacher who explained the meaning of the six memorial candles. Basic concepts and terminology were used with a gentle tone pitched at the level of the young child. 'Hitler's evil plan' and 'his hatred of Jewish people' was refocused around the bravery of Gentiles and Jews who resisted, and the ultimate victory of the Allied forces and the 'safe haven of Israel'. Pupils were encouraged to visit the candles that were then displayed at the Remembrance Wall in the school foyer<sup>53</sup>.

The Senior Primary school (Standards Two, Three and Four) held a similar ceremony of candle lighting on a table draped with the flag of Israel and with posters of the 'Anthem of the Ghetto Fighters' in Hebrew, English and in the original Yiddish. The address by the Jewish Studies head contextualized the Holocaust and contrasted the Nazi ideology of the negation of the life's sanctity with the life respecting values of Judaism<sup>54</sup>. Traditional liturgical texts of memorialization were intoned<sup>55</sup> along with extracts from the classroom lessons<sup>56</sup> (Appendix B.4.).

The ceremony in 1993 paid tribute to Jewish resistance both spiritual and physical, the partisans, and to the half-million Jewish soldiers who fought in the Allied armies<sup>57</sup> (Appendix B.4.). Their ceremony ended with an emotional moment of silence and the rousing singing of the 'Anthem of the Ghetto Fighters'. The ceremony was marked by a tone of reverence and by the attentiveness of the pupils which teachers noted was sustained throughout the day.

The text and the content of the 1993 ceremony were drawn directly from the topics of the formal lessons. This was even more evident in the 1992 ceremony where the address centered on the 'darkness' of the tragedy and the 'light of hope'. A pupil of each standard told the assembly about what they had learned in the classroom as part of this presentation<sup>58</sup>.

The annual school magazine provided a rich resource of documentation of the ceremonies at the school<sup>59</sup>. A pattern was traced of a standardized ceremony with similar structure, rituals and methods although prior to the establishment of a separate Jewish Studies Department, the ceremonies appeared to have had no direct connection to any classwork. Reports in the annual school magazines of the sister primary schools<sup>60</sup>, and the Herzlia Middle and High Schools revealed markedly similar ceremonies<sup>61</sup> (Appendix B.8.).

Memorialization was however not confined to the school ceremony and to return to the sample of 1993, all formal Jewish Studies lessons during the Memorial Day were devoted exclusively to the subject. General Studies and Hebrew teachers reported of sustained interest and discussions in their classes on the day which served to mesh and integrate the formal and informal programmes, and the lessons and commemoration activities. The entire day was one of subdued atmosphere and at breaktime pupils were less rowdy than usual with some pupils making reverential visits to the exhibition and candles in the school foyer<sup>62</sup>.

In addition to *Yom Ha'Shoah* a number of special events were marked on other occasions. For example in 1988 on the fiftieth anniversary of *Kristallnacht* (9 November 1938), Weizmann School joined other Jewish institutions around the world in leaving their lights burning. This was a reminder of the pogrom that destroyed synagogues and houses in what was the first major Nazi '*aktionen*' against the Jews<sup>63</sup>.

On *Rosh Hashana* of 1993, the fiftieth anniversary of the escape of Danish Jewry was marked. Standard two pupils who had learnt about the escape, presented a short text to the school assembly.

These brief references listed above stand in contrast to the more lavish attention that was given to the fiftieth year commemoration of the Uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto in 1993. A dramatic presentation was prepared and performed for the pupils and their parents<sup>64</sup> (Appendix B.3.).

The contrasting descriptions of the different commemorative events and the various presentations, demonstrated a strong presence but also an uneven approach to Holocaust Commemoration especially on occasions other than the official memorial day of *Yom HaShoah*.

### THE EXTRA CURRICULUM

It would have been inaccurate to have concluded from the previous sections that besides the occasional special commemorative events, the subject of the Holocaust was solely manifest in formal lessons and in the *Yom Ha'Shoah* commemorations. Not all manifestations fell neatly into the divide between the formal and the informal curricula. These categories were useful but belied the overlapping nature and cross curricular impact of some aspects of the school curriculum. Areas identified as straddling the divide and also serving to bridge them, were the school library and the annual school magazine. Additional elements that loosely fit the term extra-curriculum included the daily prayer services; posters and visual aids, and enrichment for teachers. Researching the case study revealed that the presence of the Holocaust as a subject extended into these diverse aspects of the daily life of the school and therefore required investigation in order to complete the description of the nature and place of the Holocaust at Herzlia Weizmann.

### THE SCHOOL LIBRARY

The extensive school library is an important dimension of the school and has been recognized as a model library by other local schools both for its content and for its role in the school<sup>65</sup>. The library stock includes books dealing directly and indirectly with the Holocaust and was found to be available to students in the form of fiction, semi-fiction, reference books and source material. The Judaica section of the library,

however, was found to be less well stocked although there is a small, separate Hebrew library<sup>66</sup>.

The collection of books in the library has been thoughtfully selected by the librarian who explained that she is vigilant in seeking books on the Holocaust<sup>67</sup>. The library catalogue thus revealed approximately thirty titles under the subject heading 'Holocaust' and these did not include the fiction section where some books were narrated true stories rather than fiction<sup>68</sup>. The wide genre of war stories and memoirs unlike the reference books, were not shelved together<sup>69</sup>.

Two of the books were adapted versions from adults versions<sup>70</sup>, while a few other books present were written for adult readers with subtleties beyond the young child<sup>71</sup>. The librarian explained that she also kept selected books aside since she preferred to mediate pupils' exposure to them. Two Holocaust books were to be found in this category in which the graphic illustrations were 'read' with the class. These two books demonstrated the wide range of available books. The illustrations of 'Rose Blanche' (Innocenti 1991) are authentic and sensitive<sup>72</sup>, and stands in contrast to the honour of the disturbing caricature of camp victims in Let The Celebrations Begin (Wild 1991)<sup>73</sup> (Appendix E.5. and E.9.).

Another category of Holocaust book found in the school library was that of the photo collections where graphic content was very accessible to the child. The Children We Remember (Abells 1987) was used as the basis for the 1993 'Wall of Remembrance'<sup>74</sup> (Appendix E.1.).

The Holocaust was also represented in the non-fiction reference section of the library in a small cluster of Holocaust books<sup>75</sup>, and in the general and Judaica reference section<sup>76</sup>. For example books on Israel included references to places such as *Yad Vashem*<sup>77</sup>. Books on Jewish personalities included the Holocaust<sup>78</sup>, and compendiums of Jewish holidays included *Yom HaShoah*<sup>79</sup>, while history books reflected on the significance of the Holocaust<sup>80</sup>. Books on Judaism tended generally not to deal with the subject<sup>81</sup>.

And numerous miscellaneous books in the library also made reference to the



Holocaust<sup>82</sup>.

A final category of Holocaust material found in the school library were the teaching ones. Manuals for teaching festivals had chapters devoted to Holocaust commemoration<sup>83</sup>. There were also two audiotapes We Who Survive (de Guizman 1977) and Claire Bloom's selected extracts from the Diary of Anne Frank (1990). The video 'Dear Kitty' (1987) was the only video material on the subject in the library, although teachers had acquired their own personal collection of tapes, videos and reference books.

In sum, pupils had access to a wide if somewhat scattered resource of fiction and reference material on the Holocaust. The librarian nonetheless observed a perceivable shift of interest toward the Holocaust<sup>84</sup>, and the library was stocked to respond to such interest. The bulk of these books however dated from the sixties and seventies, especially in the fiction section. The rapid development of the field of Holocaust books in the 1990s and especially in the field of junior literature was evident in contemporary bibliographies<sup>85</sup>. But of this flood of material little had reached South Africa and only a few volumes and almost no audio-visual materials were to be found in the school library [Appendix E: Children's literature]. Similarly computer resources and internet were also not yet available to students at the time of this study.

## B. THE SCHOOL MAGAZINE

The school's annual magazine provided a rich source and a window into the ethos and '*ruach*' (spirit) of the school (Interview 4: Principal). Acting as a showcase it also served to bring together aspects of the formal and informal curricula with reports on events and articles by pupils drawn from lessons and their creative writing.

Prior to 1968 little reference was made to the Holocaust in school magazines in keeping with the general reticence and inability to confront the subject. Factual reporting that began to appear about the commemorations began to change in the 1980s when the general nature of the magazine changed and more interpretive writing and commentary was encouraged<sup>86</sup>. Thus for example in 1994 the visit to the Anne

Frank exhibition elicited the following responses:

I can swim, run, dance and shout whenever I choose,

It really upsets me to think that Anne Frank couldn't do any of this.

(L.P. Std 4. Herzlia Magazine 1994:55).

Through reading her diary, I could actually feel the fear that they felt.

(D.G. Std 4. Herzlia Magazine 1994:55).

Reference was also made by pupils who described encounters with the subject through books<sup>87</sup>, the cinema, and during trips to Israel<sup>88</sup>. In addition to reportage, creative writing and a general grappling with the subject was also encouraged<sup>89</sup>.

Pupils writing was often filled with adventure and heroism typical of their age. Thus one pupil had his hero surviving Auschwitz to become a leader of a kibbutz in Israel (M.E. Std 5 Herzlia Magazine 1979:19). Sometimes the writing was inaccurate and trite but there was also genuine personal concerns and sensitive entries in the magazines<sup>90</sup>.

This wide variety of entries demonstrated the many levels of pupils' responses and their varying perception about the Holocaust.

### C. TEFILLAH – MORNING PRAYERS

Each school day begins with a fifteen minute prayer service. The Holocaust appeared as a point of reference during the lesson on the weekly *Torah* reading, *Parashat Ha'Shavuah* delivered at Thursday prayers. For example comparisons were made with the enslavement of the Israelites, the wanton cruelty of the tribe of Amalek, and the prohibition against tatting and cremation which was practised en masse by the Nazis on their Jewish victims.

News items from the press are also brought to the prayer assemblies. Thus for example reference was made to 'ethnic cleansing' in the Balkans in 1992<sup>91</sup>, and the genocidal attacks in Rwanda in 1994. In each case special prayers were recited and direct references were made to the Jewish experience in the Holocaust<sup>92</sup>.

Although these were not part of a set syllabus or programme, the informal references and cross references at these services, acted as one of the bridges that sustained the presence of the subject throughout the year and created a sense of continuity, relevance and integration.

#### D. POSTERS AND VISUAL AIDS

Another means by which the presence of the Holocaust was sustained, was by the display of posters. Despite the exhibitions mounted at the time of *Yom Ha'Shoah* and even though Hebrew and Jewish Studies posters enjoyed a high profile in the classrooms and passages of the school, only a single, solitary poster on the Holocaust was found to be displayed throughout the year. And it was part of a wider series on the Zionist movement and not the Holocaust per se<sup>93</sup> (Appendix B.6.).

In 1994 the Jewish National Fund supplied each Herzlia School with a set of posters - A Pictorial and Study Kit of Jerusalem (Yachav. 1994). Of the dozen posters dedicated to the many dimensions of the city, and despite the presence of other memorials, none of the Holocaust memorials in Jerusalem were depicted. This reflected the typical paucity of Holocaust pictorial aids in the school. To address this, teachers have resorted to producing their own materials such as the exhibition created from the school library book in 1993<sup>94</sup>.

#### E. VISITS AND VISITORS

Another extra-curricula source of enrichment for pupils was to be found in their visits to exhibitions, places of interest, and having guests visit the school<sup>95</sup>.

Pupils visits and outings to Holocaust related exhibitions were limited because unlike many other large cities, Cape Town, at that time, had no permanent exhibition or museum. There were however temporary and travelling exhibitions which offered a multitude of aspects and perspectives on the Holocaust<sup>96</sup>. Addressing adults in content and pitch, teachers vetted these exhibitions before proposed visits by pupils.

Thus in 1985 the J.S. teachers had checked the suitability of an exhibition of Holocaust memorabilia before the Standard Fours were to visit the exhibition<sup>97</sup>, and to offset the focus on the Holocaust a simultaneous visit to the Cape Town Jewish Museum was organized. Another example was the 'Holocaust Awareness Programme' presented by the Cape Town Holocaust Memorial Council in 1992 and 1993<sup>98</sup>. Jewish Studies teachers on viewing the exhibition decided against bringing primary school pupils to view it<sup>99</sup>.

The process of vetting the suitability was two pronged being carried out not only by the teachers but also by the organizers. Decisions taken by the convenors resulted in the initial exclusion of Herzlia primary school pupils from the programmes for the international exhibition, 'Anne Frank In The World' which was brought to Cape Town in 1994. The convenors had not anticipated interest from any primary schools, but with the subject a part of the formal curriculum, special arrangements were made for the Standard Four pupils of Herzlia to visit the exhibition and to make use of their own guides<sup>100</sup> (Appendix C.1.i-iii).

The high profile and diverse programme of events and their coverage in the media resulted in the impact of the Anne Frank Exhibition being experienced by pupils of all ages. This was evident in the continued reference to the subject in class discussions at that time. The pupils interest had been evident from the opening of the exhibition when a Standard Three pupils of the school, the granddaughter of a survivor, was invited to assist in the lighting of the memorial candle at the opening ceremony. A photograph of this event appeared in the local daily newspaper the following day, and was of great interest to the pupils of the school (Cape Times 5 March 1994; Appendix C.1.i).

In addition to these visits by pupils, visitors to the school also enriched pupils knowledge. Guests as previously described, were invited to enhance and complement the lessons of the formal curriculum. Thus Esther M. had visited the Standard Two class in 1992 to speak of her experiences in the rescue of Danish Jewry; Dr Riesenberger addressed the Standard Three classes about Chanah Senesh whose mother and brother she had personally interviewed. The presence of these visitors

served to concretize and to add authenticity to the 'stories' the pupils had learnt<sup>101</sup>. There were also other visitors unrelated to any specific formal study and often brought to the school unexpectedly during their visit to Cape Town. While such visits were a frequent occurrence at the High School<sup>102</sup>, with regard to the subject of the Holocaust visitors to the primary schools, they were rare. Time constraints, three different campuses and the concern that the speakers should pitch their level correctly, were all factors in this regard. Nonetheless, there had been a number of visitors such as Gideon Hausner, the chief prosecutor in the Eichmann Trial, who visited Weizmann in 1968. In 1993 David and Rachel Laor visited each of the primary schools and held each audience spellbound with their account of the rescue of the 'Teheran children'<sup>103</sup>.

#### G. TEACHER ENRICHMENT

In addition to the enrichment gained from visits and visitors, the enrichment of teachers was also directly addressed through the formal structure of teachers seminars. During Jewish Studies seminars, Judaica staff were exposed to a wide variety of materials in order to enhance their personal knowledge of the subject and to assist in lesson preparation. Videos, readings, source texts and newspaper articles were brought to the seminars by the facilitator and by the participants themselves<sup>104</sup>.

Such activities were typical of Jewish Studies seminars but they were not restricted to these alone. In 1994 at the request of staff members a presentation was delivered in each primary school on the life of Anne Frank. This was done as an introduction to the Anne Frank Exhibition and was delivered to the entire staff during a lunch hour meeting. In a less formal fashion but at similar staff meetings at lunch break staff members were given the opportunity to share experiences of interest. In this way a senior member of staff described her visit in 1993 to Thereisenstadt, and in 1994 the principal reported on his visit to the new Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington.

Articles of interest and programmes of events and lectures were frequently advertised

on the staff noticeboard or handed to interested teachers. This typically also had included material about the Holocaust. In addition, journals and magazines such as The Jerusalem Post, The Jerusalem Report, The Cape Jewish Chronicle and Time Magazine, were all found in the Weizmann Staffroom and each of these had carried coverage of Holocaust related subjects especially when such news was deemed to be world headlines (Appendix C.4.).

### THE CURRICULUM : ANALYSIS

The extra and cross-curricula manifestations in their multitude of forms all contributed to what may be described as the fuller texture of Holocaust education at Herzlia Weizmann. Identifying and harnessing their potential were important considerations for the deliberative process especially because of their potential for securing enrichment and continuity beyond the focus of *Yom Ha'Shoah* and through the entire year. This notwithstanding, these remained supplementary to the official, formal and informal curricula on the subject. It was the latter dimensions of curriculum which formed the focus of analysis and which revealed the nature of the issues and problems. By identifying these symptoms in the field, they could be brought to the deliberations that lay at the heart of Schwab's theory and the development of a defensible curriculum.

The case study had shown that besides the varying degrees of integration and indirect manifestations, the subject of the Holocaust was formally located and entrenched in the Jewish Studies syllabus of the school. As such it received between two and four lessons per year that were devoted exclusively to the subject at the time of *Yom Ha'Shoah*. At first glance the varied and age appropriate units for these formal studies could be said to fulfill the stated aims of the Jewish Studies programme in the school.

To teach the skills and understanding of concepts and language of Judaism, Jewish tradition and history, and offering a basis on which to build further understanding (J.S. Curriculum - Internal Document, Herzlia Weizmann 1990).

The fact that Holocaust education was so closely tied to the day of commemoration

held special significance because in the primary school the subject had been shaped by its presence in the annual cycle of the *Chaggim* syllabus. The approach to teaching *Chaggim* - festivals and commemoration days, termed the 'Chaggim Paradigm' was characterized by the duality of formal teaching and of school-wide commemoration, and was always bound to the specific time of the calendar. This model found extensive application as the standard paradigm in Jewish Studies, not only in teaching cyclical calendar events but also in teaching other components such as daily prayers and ritual practices. These too, drew on the dual approach of formal tuition and simultaneous application. The Chaggim paradigm thus ensured a combination of cognitive and affective learning that was consolidated through experiential learning and religious observance as stated in the Jewish Studies curriculum (Jewish Studies Internal Document, 1990).

Cognitive development in Holocaust education was secured through the thematic approach employed in the formal curriculum and classroom lessons. These dealt with the various responses to the Holocaust such as the Righteous Gentiles (Standard Two); Jewish resistance (Standard Three) and the Victims (Standard Four).

The method employed in the school was consistent and involved the telling of a pertinent story about an individual rather than teaching about generalized abstractions. The story would involve key vocabulary and concepts and was followed by notes, worksheets and questions. Discussion played a central role and was further encouraged by questions in classes and in tests which followed curricular units of this sort. Enrichment and extension was achieved in the form of guests, videos and exhibitions.

In spite of all these elements, close examination revealed a number of problems. For example, the units in the case study originated in a random choice born of an urgent and hasty need to prepare for the commemoration and were largely drawn from inherited Jewish Studies and Hebrew programmes. These units had filled the basic requirements and satisfied the immediate needs of all the facets of the Chaggim paradigm. At Weizmann these units eventually evolved and crystallized into the programmes evident in this case study. However, they had been retained without

questioning the original premises for the choice, they had remained minimalistic and had never been consolidated into a global syllabus or curriculum. They had also remained subject to the constraints of teachers personal preferences and the accommodation of special commemorations.

The situation in the sister primary schools of the Herzlia system reflected an even greater randomness with less consistency and development. This was largely due to limited co-ordination between classes within the individual schools and the limited sharing of ideas between schools<sup>105</sup>. Teachers were therefore isolated and were left to their own devices in planning and preparing lessons and commemorations. While their efforts usually coalesced for school ceremonies, the formal teaching remained haphazard varying from little exposure to gross over-exposure<sup>106</sup>.

The interviews of teachers in the primary schools in 1993 reflected the problems of teachers randomly exposing pupils to too many facets of the subject without careful planning or appropriate development. For example at Herzlia Highlands the teacher of Sub A and Sub B reported teaching about Anne Frank, Mordechai Anielewicz and the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in order to teach about '*Gevurah/Bravery*'.

Another teacher reported that she had covered the identical topics in Standard Two but she had also brought a related newspaper article for discussion and added the story of Janusz Korczak and his orphanage in the Warsaw Ghetto. All this took place in a single lesson! The crowded and overwhelming amount of information was not consolidated in any way by written notes or worksheets. The teacher explained that she was responding to the Director of Judaica's instruction to highlight the fiftieth anniversary of the Ghetto Uprising but which had not included any suggestions of how to approach the subject. This example of over-exposure however was not atypical and during interviews with teachers there was a repeated request for guidance in teaching the subject.

Teachers were very conscious of the problems of a lack of structure and the dangers of an excessive or inadequate approach to the subject. They expressed their concerns and frustrations specifically asking for guidance in developing content and methods of



implementation. Asked in the interviews about changes they would recommend they repeatedly called for a suitable curriculum and appropriate teacher guidance:

- A proper directive from 'above' on how to teach and tell about the Holocaust from kindergarten building up to Standard Five
- More training for teachers regarding the subject and more appropriate materials
- We would like to know how much to tell and how to put it across
- Graded teaching and how to teach it

(Interviews 16,17,18: Herzlia Primary Schools Teachers)

Teachers requests needed to be addressed. An evaluation was also required of the strengths already evident in the case study. For example the lack of structure had encouraged flexibility and the easy accommodation of the special commemorations and anniversaries. Allowing these to dominate Holocaust lessons had however impeded the development of a cohesive curriculum and perpetuated a random approach. Another area of cognitive development that held promise was the choice of themes and topics, but even these required a more critical approach and evaluation. At Herzlia Weizmann the programme that had taken shape lacked critical assessment of the inherited topics and materials and of the assumptions underlying them. Each topic required consideration, for example:

- Anne Frank's diary in essence had more to say of the thoughts of a pubescent teenager than about a Holocaust victim which is inferred only indirectly from the context and from the epilogue.
- Aside from attempts to debunk her heroic status, Chanah Senesh is portrayed as a Zionist helping to rescue helpless Diaspora Jewry. The emphasis on physical resistance did not give adequate recognition to spiritual resistance and the determination to preserve Jewish values.
- Teaching about Righteous Gentiles and similar positive values held the danger of distorting the reality where active collaboration and passive bystanding were more common than acts of altruism.

Such a critique is not only pertinent in selecting content for teaching the Holocaust but the curriculum also needed to alert teachers, presenting them with sufficient background, and training them in skills for carrying out such a critique of content,

methods and resources.

Also requiring consideration was the fact that Weizmann is part of a wider Herzlia system. The communal reference to 'a Herzlia education' has always implied the totality of the system from Sub A to Matriculation, and, as such, pupils, parents and teachers assume uninterrupted continuity in all facets of education throughout the system. This assumption was substantiated in the cognitive development in teaching about the Holocaust. Teachers in the primary school recognized that their role was to introduce pupils to key concepts and skills which would be expanded upon and more thoroughly explored in Herzlia Middle and Senior Schools.

The graduate of the primary school would again encounter the Holocaust but not as part of the Jewish Studies syllabus as in the primary school, but rather located in the History Syllabus of the Middle School<sup>107</sup>. While only brief reference is made to the Holocaust in the official Cape Departmental syllabus as part of the unit on World War II, at Herzlia Middle School the subject is explored in far greater detail through extension and enrichment programmes and through project work<sup>108</sup>. The subject had on occasions also been incorporated into the Art, Hebrew and English Literature syllabi.

In the High School, aside from its brief appearance in the History Matriculation Syllabus as part of the study of World War II, the Holocaust appears as a compulsory unit in the Hebrew matriculation syllabus as part of the cultural dimension dealing with modern Jewish History and totalling a substantial 12,5% of the entire Hebrew mark<sup>109</sup>.

Although part of the Hebrew syllabus, this segment was taught in English and primarily from a historical perspective. As in the case of the Middle School, the subject is also to be found enriching the Hebrew, English and History syllabi. The acknowledged experts in the school, however, were the staff of the Jewish History Department, some of whom had been sent to institutions abroad to enrich their knowledge and teaching of the subject. The High School Media Centre housed a rich resource of slides, videos, photographic material and books. Holocaust studies in the

High School was further enhanced by scholars-in-residence. Their presence highlighted the subject across the school through guest lectures to pupils, staff and parents<sup>110</sup>. Another important source of extension were the extended field trips to Israel and more particularly the opportunity for Standard Nine pupils to participate in 'The March of the Living', a short programme of study and commemoration in Poland and Israel. Initiated in the 1980s this visit includes a march of solidarity with international Jewish organizations in the death camp of Auschwitz, a life affirming stop-over in Israel and report-back sessions in Cape Town<sup>111</sup>.

Although no graded curriculum existed for the entire system the Holocaust was not only commemorated at all levels, but primary school pupils would progress to advanced academic studies of the subject in their Middle and High School careers. Increased emphasis on the cognitive level was enhanced by sophisticated media enrichment and matched by opportunities to participate in emotive tours to Holocaust related sites. The primary school was thus regarded as the nurturing ground for preparing pupils for more advanced cognitive and affective interaction with the subject of the Holocaust. The exit goals and general expectations regarding this subject were spelled out by the Middle School, Jewish Studies Departmental Head:

We expect them to know very briefly what the day is about ... that six million Jews died and that there were such things as concentration camps ... but I don't expect them to come up [to the Middle School] with for example a knowledge of where Bergen Belsen is on the map or when Kristallnacht occurred (Interview 10: Head of Middle School Jewish Studies).

Affective development while also contained within the formal component, was mainly focused on the emotive commemoration of *Yom Ha'Shoah* and specifically in the solemn ceremonies of that day. Aiming to perpetuate and instil an identification with the religious and cultural traditions, ceremonies and rituals formed an integral part of the school curriculum and a significant dimension of the Chaggim paradigm.

A comparison of the commemoration ceremonies at Weizmann and the sister primary schools revealed a consistent pattern in content and method. Furthermore this same

pattern was evident in the Herzlia Middle<sup>112</sup>, and High Schools<sup>113</sup>.

Unlike the formal curriculum, the structure and content of commemoration was consistent throughout the system and pupils of all ages were exposed to some form of commemoration although this became increasingly elaborate at secondary school level. What typified the ceremonies was their religious elements such as prayers, candle lighting and liturgical song<sup>114</sup>. These meshed with national elements such as the flag and the anthem of Israel. This characteristic blend of national and religious dimensions corresponded directly with the 'broadly national traditional' ideology of the school.

The manifestations of these elements was evident in the rituals which had evolved over time. The process of how some rituals appeared and disappeared while others persisted to become standard rituals and symbols for the memorial day, could be observed in the schools records. For example the Weizmann School Magazine of 1968 reported that as a token of respect all sports and singing classes on Yom Ha'Shoah of that year had been cancelled. The solemnity of the memorial day would continue to be observed in this way although lessons on the theory of music and sport would be permitted. In addition all extra-mural activities were cancelled. The memorial ceremony had also become increasingly fixed with the mandatory presence of six candles, an Israeli flag and memorial prayers. Despite this crystallization of form, wide scope still existed for actual implementation. In 1993 after the conclusion of the ceremony the memorial candles and flag were placed in the central foyer of the school at the 'Wall of Commemoration' in order to bring it into the centre focus for the entire day. An earlier variation in the late 1980s had been the burning of a memorial candle in each classroom throughout the day but this had been discontinued due to the fire hazard involved<sup>115</sup>. An element that was phased out was the march past the candles which was more typical of the 1960s when marching and scouting were much favoured activities of youth movements (Weizmann School Magazine 1968:20)<sup>116</sup>.

The description of the malleability of rituals for Yom Ha'Shoah pointed to a key problem in that the relative newness of the memorial day had resulted in an absence of

inherited traditions and established rituals. This was particularly true when compared with long established and often ancient practices for other Jewish holidays and memorial days. The problem was exacerbated by the unprecedented nature of the Holocaust and the difficulty of incomprehensibility.

Irving Greenberg in a comprehensive overview of Jewish holidays, commemoration and their rituals, concluded that the commemoration of the Holocaust lay beyond the classical modes of commemoration and beyond the old paradigm - he labels his chapter on the Holocaust, 'The Shattered Paradigm'.

Rituals play an indispensable role in sensitizing people ... but no perfect model exists, perfection is least of all possible when it comes to dealing with the Holocaust with its pluralism of responses ... a broken paradigm (Greenberg 1988:321)<sup>117</sup>.

Being a universal problem for Jewish communities, the attempts made to create and initiate rituals in the school were similarly being attempted by communities. But even in large congregations and communities no standard practice or ritual had become entrenched or officially adopted. In the Jewish community of Cape Town as in other communities, there was tacit recognition that these were still evolving. This same approach was reflected by the pupils and when they were asked to recommend innovations for ritual observance they reaffirmed existing rituals of mourning expanding upon them with caution. They were apprehensive of stepping beyond the pale of traditional practices<sup>118</sup>.

Despite the constraints of working within the accepted parameters of tradition, new and meaningful rituals were being sought in many communities. Even within the school a number of teachers both individually and in groups, had sought ways to overcome the problem of a lack of rituals and to innovate with experimental ideas:

They all wore stars. I'm not sure if we were right. We actually made a yellow star for each child ... because that is how Jews were identified ... we wanted to turn a negative symbol into a positive one

(Interview 16: J.S. Teachers Highlands Primary School).

Without any guidelines teachers had hesitantly attempted to encourage identification though this particular project was not without controversy<sup>119</sup>. Concern over the limits

and suitability of such efforts were repeatedly expressed by the teachers who wanted to promote interest and identification without over-stepping the parameters of acceptable pedagogic and religious practice.

Understanding the role of ritual and commemoration was therefore not only essential for its own intrinsic value in the curriculum, but also for bridging the affective and cognitive domains and also for consolidating the links between the formal and informal curriculum. Although the goals, content and method of formal tuition were more clearly enunciated, the cognitive level in the primary school was limited by the constraints of the young child's abilities and was therefore the weaker dimension. The emotive affective level made a far greater impact so that even when pupils were only passively engaged in observing ceremonies and rituals, experiential learning was occurring<sup>120</sup>. The potential for enhancing the relationship between the formal and informal, the cognitive and the affective, was evident at Weizmann where the ceremony was developed from the lesson content and the Standard Four class engaged in studying the issues of rituals and commemoration. This holistic approach suggested ways for a curriculum to be mutually reinforcing of each domain and bringing together the formal and informal, the cognitive and affective, and the learning and commemoration.

Another central issue that emerged in the analysis of the case study was the constraint of time. This was closely linked to the location of Holocaust education in the *Chaggim* syllabus and the employment of the *Chaggim* paradigm. Just as Irving Greenberg had found traditional rituals inadequate, his reference to a 'shattered paradigm' applied to the traditional *Chaggim* paradigm with regard its inability to fulfill the requirements and recognize the significance of the Holocaust for contemporary Jewry. The persistence in applying the *Chaggim* paradigm and its cyclical time-bound approach required critical evaluation. Squeezed between Passover and Israel's Independence Day, the commemoration itself often occurred within days of returning from mid-semester holidays<sup>121</sup>. In some years the memorial day fell in the holidays resulting in only a brief mention in the school<sup>122</sup>.

The time constraints not only impeded lesson preparation and hampered the

development of content, but if often necessitated rushed preparations for commemoration<sup>123</sup>. This resulted in teachers opting for tried and tested formulas for both teaching and commemoration which was in danger of becoming repetitive and pedestrian. The process of deliberation had to evaluate the problem of time and the suitability of the Chaggim paradigm and to address the shortcomings that were identified. Not least of all was the intense but isolated focus on the subject on the annual day of commemoration which the principal of Weizmann referred to as 'an injection approach':

Yom Ha'Shoah is part of the community obligation and needs to be there, but I think we should strive for it not to be giving the children a massive injection of knowledge on that particular day ... but rather to establish an awareness as a personal experience with that day just as a focus for a while. But to have a ceremony and an injection of knowledge, I'm not sure it achieves much (Interview 4: Weizmann School Principal).

In sum the case study of Holocaust education at Weizmann School gave rise to a number of key issues. By identifying the symptoms of existing problems these issues could be brought to the deliberation process. The symptoms that emerged from analysis of the field were the following:

1. A lack of clarity of the purpose, aims and goals of Holocaust education at Weizmann and in the Herzlia system.
2. The lack of a graded syllabus and guidelines that define its parameters, resulting in randomness, repetition and poor management of the limited time available.
3. An erratic relationship and a lack of consolidation between affective and cognitive dimensions, the formal and informal spheres, and the classroom tuition and commemoration-
4. An approach to the content of lessons and to commemoration that lacked

any critical appraisal.

5. An uncritical employment of the Chaggim paradigm as the model and method of teaching the subject without considering its strengths and weaknesses. Neither had there been a consideration of alternative ways of approaching the subject.
6. The haphazard approach to sustaining interest and continuity during the year outside of the intense focus at the time of Yom Ha'Shoah.
7. The inadequate resources and teaching aids, and the limited library materials.
8. The impoverished approach to the potential for integration.
9. Inadequate training of teachers in content, pedagogic method and skills required for coping with the categories listed above.



University of Cape Town

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE CASE STUDY AND THE COMMONPLACES

Deliberation is the testing ground for the issues raised in the case study. But for Schwab the process of deliberation involves more than this because it requires a dialogue between the four commonplaces that characterize the field of education, namely the pupil, the milieu, the subject matter and the teacher. To achieve this each commonplace required thorough investigation and analysis in order to prepare it for the deliberation process. The process itself involves a continual movement between the field and new insights eclectically garnered from experts, theories, literature on the subject and comparative analysis. This approach is applied to each commonplace, the connections between them and to a global view of the field.

The case study thus far has focused on the content and method of teaching the Holocaust at Herzlia Weizmann. The issues that have emerged have been largely drawn from the teacher's perspective and the curriculum as it was directed at the pupils. The other commonplaces of education had to be examined from their own perspectives. For example investigation was needed of the perspectives of the pupils as key participants and to then analyze what had been learnt, understood and internalized from the existing curriculum.

#### THE PUPIL'S PERSPECTIVE

##### A. PUPIL'S INTEREST IN THE SUBJECT

The centrality of the place of discussion in the fabric of the daily life of the school made it an important entry point into the child's world and a means to gauge the pupil's perceptions, understanding and interest in the subject. Discussion is highly prized as part of the school's child-centred ethos which encourages the pupils to express themselves and to question ideas<sup>1</sup>.

Teachers indicated that pupils had often actively initiated discussion about the Holocaust and had shown considerable interest particularly after Holocaust related

activities<sup>2</sup>. As in other subjects the primary school pupil, when interested in a subject, would bring materials, articles and stories for discussion in class<sup>3</sup>.

For example in 1993 after the commemoration ceremony one child described her family's visit to the Anne Frank Foundation in Amsterdam, and another brought a newsletter from the same centre. Accounts of family involvement and especially media in the form of news articles and video also led to pupil initiated discussion to which fellow pupils eagerly responded.

Pupils interest was often encouraged by the persistence of individuals with a special interest in the subject. At Weizmann in 1994 a Standard Two pupil pleaded to see the Anne Frank video, 'Dear Kitty' (1987) her interest was corroborated by her mother who explained that her daughter had tried to hire the video. Another incident hinted at the inherent problem in open discussion with the pupils. In response to a child's question about the fate of the Jews in the war, the teacher's carefully couched reply included mention of Nazism and the plan to exterminate Jews. Unsatisfied the child challenged the teacher:

But now tell us about the gas chambers, you haven't told us about them (Herzlia Weizmann classroom discussion Std 2: 1994).

The sense of being driven by pupils interest, and teachers reservations about the appropriateness of some aspects of the subject for their classes, was repeatedly raised by teachers. For example, a staff member at Weizmann referred to a feeling of 'being caught'<sup>4</sup>. The interviews revealed that teachers in all the primary schools had similar experiences of being led unwittingly, and experiencing a sense of vulnerability<sup>5</sup>. Teachers also indicated that without guidelines they had to rely on instinct to mediate and guide discussion, and on occasion to redirect and even block discussion<sup>6</sup>.

Teachers also expressed their concern about pupils typical display of interest in the macabre. The librarian at Weizmann School explained that children had a need to satisfy a ghoulish interest. (Interview 7: School librarian)<sup>7</sup>. The teachers' concern lay in the risk that pupils would approach the subject in a very selective manner, disregarding its significance and with the aim of feeding their interest in the macabre

which would become the basis of their understanding of the Holocaust<sup>8</sup>. The concern was further compounded when individual pupils became obsessive about the subject. Although very few cases were reported by teachers from the primary schools, teachers expressed apprehension about how to identify such cases and to deal with them appropriately<sup>9</sup>. The issue was thus not only of how to cope with the individual within the context of a classroom<sup>10</sup>, but how to divide between healthy curiosity and interest, and macabre, voyeuristic and even salacious inclinations.

The problem that emerged was two-fold. It lay in the previously mentioned effect the dysfunctional pupil had on the subject in the classroom, and the more serious problem of exposing pupils to trauma. The school counsellors indicated that there were no reported incidences of nightmares or any form of trauma that were known to them<sup>11</sup>. The case study had however identified a number of such incidences that had not been made known to the counsellors. (Interviews 21 - 27: Pupils). What did become clear was that the effects on the child were a major source of concern for the teachers and required full consideration in the deliberation toward a curriculum.

## B. PUPIL'S KNOWLEDGE

To explain what the pupils themselves thought, and their perceptions and knowledge of the Holocaust, data was collected in an unobtrusive manner from pupils' written work, essays and tests<sup>12</sup>, and also more directly through a series of pupil interviews<sup>13</sup>. The majority of pupils in both their written work and in the interviews revealed a basic core of knowledge about the Holocaust<sup>14</sup>.

This was demonstrated when each year the standard four were given a choice of topics during final tests, most chose Holocaust related topics<sup>15</sup>. Of these a small percentage answered with detailed accuracy and clarity while most offered a few basic details. Others confused their information<sup>16</sup>. The margin of error was typical of pupils of their young age and their mixed abilities to recall detail<sup>17</sup>.

## C. PUPIL'S PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES

A regular pattern emerged from a question posed to each successive senior class. Pupils were required to identify according to their own opinion, the most important Jewish festival or commemoration day<sup>18</sup>. *Yom Ha'Shoah* was a consistent choice of between 20 - 35% of each group of respondents<sup>19</sup>. Pupils were required to explain their choice and their responses offered an invaluable indicator as to the nature of the importance pupils vested in their choice. A separate question specifically explored the significance of *Yom Ha'Shoah* to include all students even those who had not selected the commemoration day in the previous question. Responses to these questions suggested loose clusters around a few key reactions to the subject.

The following were the key perspectives identified from the pupils responses and are illustrated by a sampling drawn from the pupils answers.

### C.1. The Personal/Individual Response

*Family Connections:* This personal response was evident when pupils based their response on family involvement in the Holocaust.

- some of my family died in that war (Std 4, 1992).
- because my grandpa's first wife and children were killed in the concentration camps (Std 4, 1992).
- my granny was in it. She was thrown off a train and survived (Std 4, 1992).

*Personal Identifications and Empathy:* Children responded at a personal level expressing empathy and identification with the victims and a recognition that they may have shared the same fate.

- we are lucky to be alive (Std 5, 1992).
- Hitler also killed children (Std 4, 1992).

### C.2. A Humanitarian Perspective

*Moral Outrage:* This response by a small number of pupils was expressed in the form of shock and moral outrage.

- the Nazis shot parents right next to their children (Std 5, 1993).
- they 'executed' babies (Std 5, 1989).
- the event still terrorizes many people (Std 4, 1992).

*Altruism as a Value:* The humanitarian response included the antithesis of the outrage at Nazi brutality and focused on the altruism of the Righteous Gentiles.

- We must remember the non-Jews who risked their lives to save Jews (Std 5, 1989).
- it is our duty to remember those who saved the Jews (Std 4, 1993).

### C.3. Religious Responses

Each year a few students offered a religious response which was more personal than theological in nature, and only indirect references were made to Theodicy and the role of God and religion.

- God helped us and we have risen (Std 4, 1992).
- *Hashem* (God) helped us to beat him [Hitler] (Std 5, 1989).
- We must thank God that we don't have to experience such suffering (Std 4, 1994).

### C.4. The Imperative to Remember

*Memorializing the Dead:* To memorialize the victims as a duty and to remember the tragedy itself.

- we must remember those who died and how Jews suffered (Std 5, 1989).
- we must remember those who fought against the Nazis (Std 4, 1993).

*The Educational Message:* Some pupils stressed the need for education and for conveying the lessons to the next generation

- so that one day our children will know what happened (Std 4, 1993).

- our children must know (Std 4, 1992).
- because some day you are going to have to tell your own children (Std 4, 1992).

*A Preventative Measure:* A small number of students saw the value of remembrance as a preventative measure and a warning<sup>20</sup>.

- we must remember so that it won't happen again (Std 5, 1989).

#### C.5. The National/Ethnic Response

This was by far the most common response, often totalling more than a half of the students in each year. It was based on a strong sense of ethnic and Jewish identification.

- they were our people (Std 5, 1989).
- nearly a half of our nation was destroyed (Std 5, 1992).
- most of the people who died were part of our family (Std 5, 1992).
- we remember because we are Jews and they were Jews (Std 5, 1989).

This demarcation of specific categories to highlight different perspectives is however a single dimension approach that belies the complexity and the interlinked perspectives expressed by most pupils<sup>21</sup>.

Similarly the language used by pupils in their responses is of significance because it reflected the measure of their identification. Simple comments such as - 'We were slaves to the Nazis' (1993) or 'Remember what was done to our ancestors' (1994) and 'What the Nazis did to us' (1994), all closely paralleled classic Jewish texts and resonated with biblical and liturgical references. Such language and terminology therefore represented a fusion of personal, religious and national dimensions. Conspicuous by its absence were the rare cases of pupils distancing themselves through objective responses which contrasted with the repeated use of personal pronouns in the plural form used by most pupils and reinforcing their religio-ethnic identification.

In all of the data reviewed no student expressed denial that the Holocaust had

occurred though a small percentage did question the need for a specific memorial day. Responses of this sort were based on a rejection of rituals and only once was a rare comment of indifference expressed.

- I don't know anybody from that time - it's over (Std 4, 1993)<sup>22</sup>.

Despite these rejections, the vast majority of pupils had expressed identification with the subject and the desire to see it memorialized. Even though pupils come from different backgrounds such as those from Israel, Russia, Sephardic ancestry and some pupils who were not Jewish, the responses by pupils of these backgrounds were not different from the wider group.

#### D. SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST

Most pupils had acquired their knowledge about the Holocaust first and foremost from the school<sup>23</sup>.

We learnt about it at school. In Standard One going up in the standards they teach more detail (Interview 19: Pupils).

It was therefore not unexpected that some pupils defined the Holocaust in terms of what they had learnt in the classroom.

The Holocaust was the time of Anne Frank (Std 4, 1994).

But it had become increasingly clear that while the school may have been the main influence through its lessons and ceremonies, nonetheless there existed a number of influences from beyond the curriculum and that these external influences impacted upon the child's understanding of the subject.

Exposure to the subject of the Holocaust occurred in the home, in the Jewish community and through the media. Since these different strata of the child's milieu played a role in informing and shaping the pupils' understanding of the Holocaust, they required systematic investigation. The influences of the milieu had to be identified along with their effects which may have served to extend, enrich and support the school curriculum, or conversely may have been a source of confusion and contradiction.



## BEYOND THE CURRICULUM : THE MILIEU

The impact of the milieu on the pupils, teachers, school and subject matter is an entrenched feature of Schwab's analysis of education through his recognition of the milieu as one of its commonplaces. This commonplace also served to remind how the four commonplaces constantly interact with each other and that none exists in a vacuum. The research had to therefore consider the concentric strata of the milieu that surrounded the pupils and their influence upon each other. The layers included the immediate strata such as the family, and the ethnic community, and then the wider more external strata of the greater society and the overarching national and international contexts.

### A. THE FAMILY

To gain insight into the practices and perspectives of the pupils' families, a survey of Standard Four parents was carried out in 1992. (Appendix H.) Parents were asked to answer open-ended questions regarding three areas of involvement with the subject, these being - personal involvement with the Holocaust and anti-semitism; the place of the Holocaust in their homes; and parental expectations regarding the teaching of the subject<sup>24</sup>. The survey was later complemented by interviews with individual parents and with teachers who were also parents of pupils<sup>25</sup>.

#### A1. Personal Involvement

The survey of Standard Four parents at Weizmann revealed that just over half the families had suffered personal loss of family members during the Holocaust<sup>26</sup>. From amongst these six parents specifically mentioned their grandparents and eight wrote of close family members who had perished<sup>27</sup>. These connections not unexpectedly had been mentioned by pupils in their interviews when they had spoken of the refugees and survivors amongst their grandparents<sup>28</sup>. As late as the 1990s there were still direct cases, albeit rare, of a parent of a Weizmann pupil who had been a child survivor<sup>29</sup>.

## A2. Holocaust Awareness in the Home

The study showed that there was substantial interest amongst the parents and over a quarter of the responses to the survey indicated that they had attended a recent lecture on the subject<sup>30</sup>. Over half the respondents had visited a memorial such as Yad Vashem<sup>31</sup>, and just under a half indicated that they had recently seen a Holocaust related film<sup>32</sup>. One fifth of the parents indicated that they had attended the annual memorial service<sup>33</sup>.

Even prior to the project of supplying families with memorial candles in 1995<sup>34</sup>, a quarter of the responding parents in the survey indicated that they lit memorial - *Yahrzeit* candles on *Yom Ha'Shoah*. The interviews also revealed that in some homes it was the children rather than the parents who lit the candle for the family thereby involving the entire family.

In addition to widespread commemoration the majority of parents indicated that the subject of the Holocaust had been discussed in their homes with their children though not necessarily on a frequent basis. The interviews showed that in some homes it was the parents who initiated the discussion<sup>35</sup>. Most parents however indicated that it was the child who initiated the discussion which might have been triggered by news, a film or school work<sup>36</sup>. Parents also expressed the difficulties involved in being open about the subject evident in the following comment that a parent added to the survey questionnaire in 1992:

- One feels not fully equipped or adequate.

The discussion in the family setting centred on the loss of family members and on the events and also philosophical questions that were raised by the child<sup>37</sup> and often were raised in response to videos and films viewed by the family. The vast majority of parents affirmed that they would not prevent their children from viewing such material<sup>38</sup>. Some reservations were expressed with one parent rejecting the subject as inappropriate for children while two other parents in the survey responded by adding - 'not yet!'. Significantly from amongst the affirmative answers some parents pointed out that they left the decision to view Holocaust videos to their children while over

half the respondents indicated that they actively encouraged their children to watch such videos<sup>39</sup>.

While all parents wanted their children to view such videos and films the definition of age appropriateness varied from one family to another<sup>40</sup>. This diversity was reflected in parental expectations and opinions about introducing the subject in the school.

### A3. Parental Expectations

Parental expectations and views about what the school should teach regarding the Holocaust, were investigated in the questionnaire, in the interviews, and by drawing on an in-house survey conducted across the entire Herzlia system in June 1992<sup>41</sup>.

The conclusions reached in that survey had direct bearings on this study. It identified a shift in parental values with a greater concern for religion, ritual practice and identity than for Zionism and Israel. Despite the lesser importance placed on Jewish history the study unexpectedly revealed a new emphasis parents placed on the specific topic of the Holocaust<sup>42</sup>.

The case study had shown that parents of Weizmann School shared these values, and of the respondents to the questionnaire on Holocaust education in 1992, more than three-quarters affirmed that they wanted and expected the subject to be taught at primary school level<sup>43</sup>. Among parents who felt that it should be taught in primary school, half felt it appropriate to begin teaching at Standard Two or Standard Three level.

Responding to the question why the Holocaust should be taught, parents offered a variety of opinions much as their children had done. Some gave universal aims of teaching humanitarian values or preventing a recurrence. But most parents focused on remembering the victims on Jewish survival, and on the place of the Holocaust in Jewish identity. Contrasting with the concerns expressed by teachers, none of the parents interviewed complained of their children experiencing signs of anxiety or nightmares as a result of exposure to the subject. Parents indicated that to the

contrary, their children were interested in the subject and they as parents requested additional Holocaust education<sup>44</sup>.

Exploring the basis of parental perceptions and expectations, the survey and interviews revealed that their perspectives were informed by their understanding of the Holocaust and anti-semitism, and their own experiences and beliefs about anti-semitism in South Africa<sup>45</sup>.

Parental concern and perceptions were rooted in their family and personal experiences, and were also rooted in a strong sense of identification with their ethnic and religious community and its heritage and history. This sense of group identity of the Jewish community of South Africa served to widen the orbit of the study as it moved from the inner circles of the school and family into the wider sphere of the milieu of the community.

## B. THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

The identity of the South African Jewish community was forged by the shared historical experience and the collective memory of the Jewish people as a whole, but it was also forged by its own particular experience in South Africa. The impact of the Holocaust and its meaning for the community therefore had to be approached in terms of the community's Jewish identity, and in terms of its location in South Africa.

The South African Jewish community which numbered approximately 100 000 in 1991, enjoyed a unique ethos<sup>46</sup>. This was previously explored as part of the description of Herzlia School as a community school reflecting the values of the Jewish community. The 'national-traditional' formula for Jewish education was shown to match the National-Zionist dimension described by Shimoni (1980), and the non-practising Jewish orthodoxy analyzed by Hellig (1984)<sup>47</sup>.

Those ideological underpinnings manifested themselves in the community's Holocaust commemoration which had by the 1990s jelled into a well-established pattern with its

characteristic fusion of religious and national dimensions - and which was replicated in Herzlia School<sup>48</sup>. Another characteristic feature was the unifying nature of the commemoration event which brought together all facets and denominations in the community<sup>49</sup>. A third characteristic lay in the increasing number of people attending the ceremony, the few hundred people in the 1980s reached over 1000 in 1992 and over 1500 in 1993<sup>50</sup>.

#### B1. The Presence of the Holocaust in the Community

The ceremonies at the cemetery on *Yom Ha'Shoah* were the focal point of communal commemoration and they were widely covered in the local Jewish press, the general press and on radio and television. At the time of this commemoration numerous ancillary activities were also arranged such as lectures, exhibitions and book reviews. There were however other manifestations of Holocaust awareness in the fabric of communal life, and not least of all was the presence of refugees and Holocaust survivors who had made their home in South Africa and who had become parents and grandparents of pupils attending the Herzlia schools<sup>51</sup>.

Survivors in South Africa established a chapter of *She'arith Ha'Pleitah* (literally 'The Saving Remnant') which at its height had about 200 members in South Africa (Shain 1996:679)<sup>52</sup>. Numerous projects were undertaken in the late 1980s and early 1990s to gather the testimonies of the local survivors<sup>53</sup>.

Another organization which promoted memorialization is *Yad Vashem* of South Africa and is affiliated to the *Yad Vashem* Memorial Institute in Jerusalem. However, besides supplying memorial candles to its subscribers, beginning in 1993, and the sale of specially commissioned memorial calendars, their efforts focused almost entirely on the larger Johannesburg community<sup>54</sup>.

Nonetheless the six branched memorial candelabra created by Yad Vashem and part of their logo is to be found in most synagogues. This readily recognizable visual symbol of the Holocaust with its inscription '*Zachor*'- (Remember), is prominently displayed in the synagogues frequented by the pupils of the school. In addition to this

reminder of the Holocaust these synagogues also have special memorial prayers dedicated to the memory of the victims<sup>55</sup>.

The Cape Town Holocaust Memorial Council came into being after the successful 1985 exhibition marking the fortieth anniversary of the liberation of the concentration camps when the need for a co-ordinating body in the community was recognized<sup>56</sup>. It was a joint project of the Jewish Board of Deputies (Cape Council) and the Western Province Zionist Council in association with *Shearith Ha'Pleithah*. Its stated aim was to co-ordinate and promote commemorative and educational programmes and projects within both the Jewish and the wider community<sup>57</sup>.

In addition to these organizations specifically aimed at Holocaust memorial, the subject was memorialized at special events organized by other communal groups such as senior groups, book clubs, woman's organizations and individual synagogues<sup>58</sup>.

Holocaust presence and awareness in the community could also be measured by its presence in the local Jewish press. A plethora of Holocaust related entries were to be found at the time of this study. The monthly Cape Jewish Chronicle, a community journal sent to each Jewish household carried advertisements, diary dates, reports, photographs and follow-up articles on Holocaust related events<sup>59</sup>. The national Jewish press such as the Zionist Record and the international Jewish press such as The Jerusalem Post, The Jerusalem Report and The Jewish Chronicle (London), in almost every edition carried Holocaust related issues whether cultural, historical, political or social in nature<sup>60</sup>.

Interest in the Holocaust and its ability to 'speak' to the Jewish community resulted in its use as a drawcard in communal fundraising<sup>61</sup>. In addition to the multitude of opportunities already listed, the Jewish and general public could further their knowledge and interest in the Holocaust through well stocked libraries such as the Gitlin communal library, the Kaplan Centre Library at the University of Cape Town, a 'special collection' on the Holocaust at the University of Stellenbosch. Over and beyond this, leading bookshops in Cape Town, along with specialized Judaica shops, carried recent fiction and reference books on the subject which itself was another

indicator of public interest.

For all these many manifestations of Holocaust awareness in the Jewish community, there was very little that was age appropriate and specifically designed for the primary school pupil<sup>62</sup>. As in the case of parental assumptions, the expectations of the community were that the Jewish schools would prepare their pupils and teach them about the Holocaust. Beyond this no special efforts were made in the community to promote the teaching of the subject to its younger members<sup>63</sup>.

## B2. Anti-Semitism and the Community

Anti-semitism was another powerful reminder of the Holocaust and featured as a central aspect in the ethos and identity of the South African Jewish community. The history of anti-semitism in South Africa and the impact of Nazism, had direct bearings on this study.

Anti-Jewish feeling found expression in popular resentment and xenophobia in the 1920s when Jewish immigration had peaked at 30% of annual immigration from Europe. The Quota Bill of 1930 and the Aliens Bill of 1937 were intended to limit this<sup>64</sup>. These Bills and the anti-Jewish sentiment which motivated them, were examples of what Todd Endelmann has termed 'public anti-semitism'<sup>65</sup>.

Already in the 1920s the Afrikaner right wing, expressed admiration for Nazism and used anti-semitism as a means for political mobilization. By 1937 the 'Jewish Question' was firmly entrenched within mainstream white politics (Shain 1996:674)<sup>66</sup>. During the 1930s and the war years the community felt vulnerable and threatened by indigenous fascism and strong local support for Nazism<sup>67</sup>. This was exacerbated by the growing awareness of the fate of European Jewry<sup>68</sup>. Fears for the South African Jewish community were not allayed by the Allied victory - especially in 1948 when a previously pro-Nazi Malan was elected Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa<sup>69</sup>. Nor did it disappear with Malan's volte face when he actively sought a reapproachment with the Jewish community<sup>70</sup>. The Nationalist government's stance thereafter did effectively prevent any overt public display of anti-semitism, but the

community's feeling of insecurity remained and its leadership advocated cautious optimism and vigilance<sup>71</sup>.

The Jewish community gradually enjoyed greater confidence<sup>72</sup>, but anti-semitism both perceived and real, continued to emerge<sup>73</sup>. Besides the individual's experience of private anti-semitism and the occasional appearance of neo-Nazis and Holocaust revisionist literature<sup>74</sup>, the decades of the 1970s and 1980s proved to be a lull.

During this period threats to Jewish existence continued and were cause for concern, however they were distant and affected Jews in Eastern Europe and Islamic countries. These did not impinge directly on the South African Jewish community which responded with moral support and financial assistance. Concern was particularly evoked by the beleaguered position of the State of Israel and in the recurring terrorist attacks which did not differentiate between Israeli, Zionist and Jewish targets. The threat to Israel's existence during time of war served as an acute reminder of the Holocaust and affected South African Jewry which on each occasion rallied to support Israel<sup>75</sup>.

In the late 1980s there was a resurgence of anti-semitic outbursts in South Africa which peaked in the early 1990s during the turbulence of political transition in South Africa. It found expression within the contending parties on both the Left and the Right of the political spectrum<sup>76</sup>. Anti-Israelism had long been the stance of the Left, of the local community, and on occasions of the ANC leadership. Anti-semitism couched in Nazi jargon or Holocaust related reference also gained currency at that time<sup>77</sup>.

The resurgence of anti-semitism was not isolated to South Africa and was part of a wider global phenomenon. The Institute of Jewish Affairs in Britain monitors anti-semitism and their 1994 annual survey reflects the increased and popularized global anti-semitism<sup>78</sup>. The report for South Africa for 1993 recorded the range of incidences which included - Swastika daubings; pigs feet at a synagogue entrance; graffiti; telephonic threats, and the burning of the Israeli flag. (Lerman and Spier 1994:191)



The role of the news media for example in reporting such incidences on television, in local newspapers and journals, served to keep the issue in the public eye<sup>79</sup>. Fuelled by sensationalist reportage, the media served to exacerbate Jewish community anxiety. It was therefore not unexpected that parents, teachers and pupils at Herzlia Weizmann expressed concern over anti-semitism and Neo-Nazi activities in South Africa<sup>80</sup>.

Despite their sheltered milieu, the study showed that pupils at the school shared their parents' anxiety about anti-semitism<sup>81</sup>. And although fragmented, pupils were aware of neo-Nazi activity acquiring their knowledge from television and the press. Personal and vicarious experiences were another source of information that informed pupils' perception<sup>82</sup>.

While the anti-semitic incidences again waned in South Africa following the national elections of 1994, the fear of latent public and private anti-semitism remained a concern for parents, pupils and the Jewish community at large. This sustained perception and the very real threat of anti-semitism in South Africa, drew this study out of the sphere of the inner realm of the Jewish community and into the wider milieu of South African society and the international context.

### C. THE WIDER SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

The presence of Nazism and anti-semitism in South African society was previously shown to have justified Jewish communal sensitivity and caution. Although viewed from the perspective of the community these manifestations also impacted on the wider context. Neo-Nazi activity had become increasingly visible and raised questions about the Holocaust and Nazism in the wider society<sup>83</sup>.

There was also a growing integration of the Holocaust into the cultural life of Cape Town in the form of the numerous public exhibitions previously described<sup>84</sup>, and in a number of Holocaust related plays staged in Cape Town<sup>85</sup>.

The Holocaust also featured in state schooling and appeared briefly in the units of

World War II in the History syllabi of both Standard Seven and Standard Ten of the Cape Department of Education<sup>86</sup>. Teaching about the Holocaust within the context of these syllabi was one of the foci of attention of the Cape Town Holocaust Memorial Council<sup>87</sup>.

The use of Holocaust references and metaphors had also entered journalistic jargon both in local and international newspapers and journals<sup>88</sup>. These references had permeated local literary and music culture in South Africa<sup>89</sup>. Comparisons were also evident especially with regard to real and perceived parallels with the Apartheid regime<sup>90</sup>. These comparisons elicited debate as it did when the Mayibuya Centre of the University of the Western Cape prepared panels on Apartheid for display at the Anne Frank Exhibition in 1994<sup>91</sup>.

In spite of the qualms about its uses and misuses these comparisons acted to reinforce the presence of the Holocaust in the wider South African consciousness<sup>92</sup>. But the most significant form of exposure was the mass media - the news media of the press and television, and the entertainment media of video and film.

#### C1. The Media

The impact of the news media was previously considered in terms of its impact upon pupils at Herzlia Weizmann, but the press and television news also brought the subject to the general public thereby developing images about the Holocaust and informing opinion. During the course of this study the daily press was scanned and revealed the frequency and variety of Holocaust related coverage<sup>93</sup>. This was true of each year although the year 1994 was especially unusual in the disproportionately frequent news reporting because of the local Anne Frank exhibition and the international publicity surrounding the Oscar award winning film, Schindler's List<sup>94</sup>.

As in the case of the press and television news coverage, the entertainment media of film and video also played an important and growing role in exposing the Weizmann pupils, and the wider public to the Holocaust especially because of the proliferation of what can loosely be defined as 'Holocaust films'<sup>95</sup>. Thus pupils interviewed in 1992

recalled seeing films and videos related to the Holocaust<sup>96</sup>. No child during the interviews identified the film or video as a source of their knowledge about the Holocaust. The films and videos were not perceived to be related to the content of curriculum and pupils did not recall the numerous references, discussion and questions described by their teachers. This hinted at a compartmentalization and a distancing of school from home and a prioritizing of official school work from classroom discussion. It also raised the question of the pupils' ability to differentiate between the reality of the Holocaust and the sense of fiction in the movies of their leisure and entertainment time<sup>97</sup>.

The accessibility and frequency of the Holocaust films especially with the multiple opportunities offered by M-Net Cable television, and in addition the previews, trailers and television hype, made the pupils a captive audience to this powerful visual medium.

## CONCLUSION

Pupils in a school are not isolated in a vacuum and are participants in a wider context of family, community and society. The impact of their immediate and wider milieu, and the interconnected influences between them, goes far beyond the strictures of the school curriculum. Not only was the child's understanding found to be influenced by these sources of knowledge, but the pupil brought these insights into the classroom situation. The intrusion of the media such as the press, video and film necessitated introducing and dealing with the subject even prior to the age recommended as appropriate by teachers. Since this phenomenon was not addressed by the curriculum, the research revealed that some teachers had responded intuitively and had drawn on their own resources. But even this initiative had been cautious and hesitant in the face of the inherent difficulties of the subject and further complication of pupils anxiety, fears and obsessions.

The *Chaggim* paradigm used for teaching the subject at Weizmann had already revealed limitations since it could not accommodate the increased importance of the subject in the community ethos. It was also limited by its own parameters because it

failed to take into account the external influences from the milieu. These influences required analysis in order to develop ways of mediating their effect on the pupils and where necessary to counteract their impact in creating and shaping meaning. The perspective of the media for example was determined by its own entertainment and commercial motive which threatened to distort and subvert the meaning and perspective conveyed by the school and the community. This clash presented a pedagogical problem which brought a dislocation between school knowledge and the more persuasive reality conveyed in the media. Douglas Barnes offers an important insight into this dislocation. Barnes differentiated between 'school knowledge' perceived as a prerequisite for success in a school system, and what he termed 'real knowledge' that was internalized because it was relevant to the pupils' perception of social reality (Barnes 1976:80)<sup>98</sup>.

These conflicting messages of school and media have been likened to sex education where despite an age appropriate and graded curriculum, the teacher is forced to contend with the intrusions, excesses and often inappropriate exposure thrust upon the child by the media<sup>99</sup>. Lacking any sensitivity to the child's needs or age, the subject is exploited in the mass media for purposes of commercial profit<sup>100</sup>.

A school based curriculum that was specially designed to answer the needs of the pupils and of the community would fail if it focused solely on the internal communal values and perspectives without taking cognizance of the impact of the media in shaping pupils' understanding. Failure to do so would result in competing meanings and the danger of the pupils not only distancing themselves from the school's presentation of the subject, but from the subject itself<sup>101</sup>.

#### A. THE DEFINING PERSPECTIVE

In the analysis of pupils' responses a set of categories emerged that suggested the topography of the field of interpretations and understanding of the subject.

Perspectives differed greatly - a particularistic view contrasted with a universalist interpretation, an objective historical approach was contrasted with a more personal one that may manifest itself in a theological or humanitarian approach. Each

interpretation, or combinations thereof, requires its own particular educational approach with an appropriate selection of content and a suitable method.

The Holocaust as a topic for education could also be taught in many different ways according to the prisms of different disciplines and subjects. It could be taught as a topic in subjects as diverse as history; literature; religion; politics; social studies; citizenship; anti racist education; co-operative, multicultural or ethnic education. The thick description and detailed analysis suggested that the defining perspective of the Holocaust for Weizmann School could now accurately be identified from amongst the possibilities outlined above.

At Weizmann the place of Holocaust education was found located in the Jewish Studies curriculum. The focus on commemoration, affective learning and formal lessons defined its location in a framework for perpetuating ethnic identity. The lessons and the ceremonies reflected the ethnic ideology of the school and served its goal of nurturing Jewish identity based on a sense of shared Jewishness with a common history, faith and future.

The Holocaust was not only an important aspect of the Jewish community of South Africa, but as elsewhere, it was part of Jewish identity and ethnicity. In his study of contemporary Jewish identity Simon noted that the period of post-war repression gave way to a greater readiness to confront the implications of the Holocaust for its identity (Herman 1977:87). Its increased role in Jewish self-definition in the 1970s was highlighted in his chapter significantly titled - 'In the Shadow of the Holocaust'.

There can be no proper understanding of contemporary Jewish identity without consideration of the profound and continuing impact on it of the memory of the Holocaust (Herman 1977:87).

In addition to this universal trend in world Jewry, it was demonstrated that the South African context had made its own impact in shaping the local community. This influence occurred both in terms of its development and in response to the social, economic and political climate of the host society; and in terms of the inclination towards fascism in the war years, and ongoing anti-semitism. The identity of South

African Jewry was shaped in response to these influences and led to the emergence of the unique form of ethnicity of religious traditionalism and Zionist Nationalism. The educational approach in the school reflected this configuration and the Holocaust was incorporated into both these dimensions. It was deeply embedded in the psyche of the community and had been a contributing factor toward the establishment of the school itself.

The reasons for the growth [of the school] are various but one major factor was undoubtedly the effects and the horrors of the Holocaust (Kessel:1983:31).

Another matrix for defining the school's perspective of the Holocaust was gleaned from the work of the historian Raul Hilberg. In his study of the Holocaust, The Destruction of European Jews (1961), he identified three distinctive categories adopted during the Holocaust - he terms them - the perpetrators; the victims and the bystanders<sup>102</sup>. Each of his categories are wide, thus for example the 'victims' include groups such as the pre-war refugees, the survivors and also the victims who were killed. Hilberg recognized that each group held a different perspective and understanding of the events.

These three groups were distinct from one another and they did not dissolve in their life-time. Each saw what had happened from its own special perspective and each harboured a separate set of attitudes and reactions (Hilberg: 1992 Preface IX).

Although Hilberg's focus was on the period of the war itself, an application of these categories sheds light on the self perception of the South African Jewish community and its understanding of the Holocaust. During the war South African Jews like those of North America, were geographically removed from the events of the Holocaust and were essentially 'bystanders'. Yet the communal perception was from the outset that of 'victim' and not 'bystander'. The perspective of victim in South Africa was not just by association or of a vicarious nature, it was supported by the very real threat of local Nazism. Because South African Jewry identified itself so strongly as a potential victim so closely tied to the fate of their families in Europe, there was none of the post war trauma and guilt of passivity that for example plagued American Jewry<sup>103</sup>.

The identification as 'victim' remained central to the South African Jewish communal response to the Holocaust where increased interest in the subject and continuing anti-semitism served to confirm and entrench this view. The catch-phrase 'We are all victims' was an often repeated phrase not only expressed in the literature of survivors such as Elie Wiesel or theologian-philosopher Emil Fackenheim but also in the language of communal commemoration as was evident in the comments of a Cape Town participant in The March for the Living in 1992.

We are all survivors of the Holocaust. Whether we were there or not, even if we had as yet not been born ... it left its mark on us and on our collective and individual being (Cape Jewish Chronicle July 1992:7).

Parental and communal expectations reflected the same desire to see the Holocaust commemorated as an intrinsic dimension in the nurturing of Jewish identity in their young, and always from the perspective of the victim<sup>104</sup>.

## B. TOWARDS DELIBERATION

The previous chapter identified issues for deliberation from within the school and its curriculum. The thick description and analysis of the multilayered commonplace of the milieu, and the perspectives of the students, pointed to further symptoms and problems for Holocaust education and particularly for the sui generis configuration at Weizmann School.

The issues that emerged from the study of the milieu were the following:

1. The inadequacy of the *Chaggim* Paradigm to accommodate external influences from the milieu.
2. The delayed introduction of the subject at the school although the children were already exposed to it through the media which had already begun to shape their understanding of the Holocaust.
3. The danger of dislocation in the clash between conflicting motives and messages of the school and 'the real world'. This indicated a need to mediate

the impact and integrate the school studies and manifestations in the wider society.

4. The missed opportunity for identifying the potential advantage in using the external influences as resources, whether in co-opting parents and community, or harnessing the resources from the media.
5. The narrowness of the communal ethos and identity. For example in the 'victimological' perspective which ignored potential enrichment lessons, and insights of other perspectives.
6. The uncritical adherence to an ethnic education without considering its limitations.
7. The inadequate preparation and training of teachers in skills for dealing with the above symptoms.

In the 1970s Barry Chazan warned that because Jewish educators had not adequately addressed the vital dimension of teaching the subject 'Israel' it had been reduced to what he termed 'an inoperative term' (Chazan 1978:97). Although the subject was taught, it was done in a confused, unsystematic and ineffective way. This, Chazan explained, was due to a failure to understand the parameters of the subject and a lack of definition, and thus also a lack of appropriate educational goals, means and methods<sup>105</sup>. In a similar way the Holocaust had not become a fully operative term in contemporary Jewish education. This was evident from the haphazard approach in the case study which demonstrated that this generalization was especially true of the Herzlia primary schools. This ability and potential to transform the subject matter into a fully operative term for the school lay in the process of deliberation.





## CHAPTER SIX

### TOWARDS A CURRICULUM

#### DELIBERATION

##### A. INTRODUCTION

In this study deliberation has been identified as the key process for curriculum development. While the chapter addresses the pertinent issues that have emerged, the process of deliberation has accompanied the entire study engaging diverse perspectives and bringing issues from interviews and texts from one respondent to another. Observation, interviews and subject analysis, have revealed the matrix of interconnected dimensions that reflect the multi-faceted texture of both the subject and of the case study. This process was also mirrored in the eclectic research method which employed a process of triangulation that encouraged interaction between research techniques and findings, and thereby achieved the 'thickness' of the description. In these ways deliberation began in the earliest stages of the study and was cumulative. Sustained by ongoing dialogue and interaction of method and content, the salient issues could be systematised and could now be subjected to critical evaluation.

For Joseph Schwab deliberation was the means for achieving what he termed 'a defensible curriculum'. Curriculum development involved the process of turning scholarship (subject matter for its own sake) into a resource for schools. This, according to Schwab, could only be achieved through the co-ordinancy and deliberation of scholarship itself with the other commonplaces of education, namely the student, teacher and milieu.

Schwab rejected any imposition of theories and objectives on the practical setting since these addressed solutions rather than the problems themselves. He therefore advocated deliberation as both a means for defining the symptoms of the problem, and also for considering the solution in order to arrive at the defensible curriculum.

Deliberation is complex and arduous. It treats both ends and means and must treat them as mutually determining one another (Schwab 1978:319).

At the core of such deliberation was a wide ranging and eclectic approach in which diversity would be honoured and cherished and options would be generated through what Schwab defined as 'polyfocal conspectus'. He explains it as the alternation of mastery of a new affording doctrine with thoroughgoing involvement in bringing the doctrine to bear as a revealing lens. (Schwab 1978:342). Although writing of deliberation between competing theories, his description of polyfocal conspectus applies equally well to debating alternative views and perspectives.

Expertise from beyond the commonplaces served to enrich the deliberation process. In Tyler's terms these designated experts are the 'screens' (Tyler 1950:24)<sup>1</sup> and they act as filters for the objectives that emerge. Schwab advocated the employ of such screens as an integral part of the process and not just as the defining and final filter of the product of deliberation. While Schwab encouraged drawing on experts for the theories and knowledge they could bring to the case, he cautioned against their dominating or subsuming any of the commonplaces or the deliberation process itself.

In terms of this study the appropriate experts were consulted and their expertise was brought to the commonplaces and to the deliberation process. Foremost of these was the perspective of the historian<sup>2</sup>. The subject matter is rooted in history which as a discipline has a specific structure and requirements such as historical accuracy and integrity, and forming what Schwab termed the substantive structures of the discipline. Yet counterpoised to the historian's perspective was the expertise of the field of literature and especially children's literature of the Holocaust. Another 'screen' that was brought to the deliberation was that of the psychologist whose contribution is not only in the psychology of the learner but also that of the impact and effect of the subject matter on the pupil and teacher alike<sup>3</sup>.

By including these screens the forum was established for considering the issues emerging from the study. The four commonplaces have been used as an organizing tool around which the issues are clustered although they have not been limited by these categories. Overarching issues cutting across all four commonplaces such as goals and outcomes for Holocaust education were reserved for debate following these

individual categories.

## B. COMMONPLACE: SUBJECT MATTER

Both the literature on Holocaust education and the case study itself raised a multitude of diverse issues associated with the subject matter. Issues such as incomprehensibility, reductionism, and the recognition of the role of the Holocaust for contemporary Jewish identity, all hold direct implications for Holocaust education.

It has been shown that any attempt to seek meaning and understanding of the Holocaust is subject to distortion, and if incomprehensibility confronts the adult then it places the Holocaust even further out of reach of the child. Yet the alternative would be conceptual helplessness and a shutting out of the subject. The Holocaust was a human phenomenon and therefore aspects can be explained and taught if they are thoughtfully prepared and appropriate to the age of the student, and without denying or ignoring the overarching incomprehensibility.

A sound means of confronting the sense of incomprehensibility would be for the teacher to openly and honestly share the adult's uncertainties with the student and to suggest seeking understanding together even with the knowledge that comprehension may never be reached. This approach is consistent with the educational philosophy of the Herzlia system and also serves as a reminder about the importance of discussion in the teaching of this subject. Theological and philosophical issues raised by the pupils would not be ignored even if the teacher's response is a simple acknowledgement that the teacher has no answer.

In the process of bringing the subject to the pupil a danger persists in the wider problem associated with the interpretation of the subject. The reduction of the Holocaust intentionally or unwittingly, to any one single goal inevitably leads to distortion and exploitation of the subject matter. Chaim Schatzker warns of this possibility:

The exclusive focus on any particular goal for education represents a distortion of the historic truth and the human meaning thereby

diminishing its significance and with the danger of reducing it to perspectives for exploitation (Schatzker: 1980).

Thus, for example the notion of employing the Holocaust as a means of nurturing identity and as a central dimension of Jewish identity has repeatedly been criticized. Jacob Neusner for example not only rejects the distortion that this encourages but also points to its inadequacy for the ethnic identity of American Jewry.

The ethnic Jewishness of 'Holocaust and Redemption' ... has failed in its chosen mission to keep Jews Jewish (Neusner:1993)<sup>4</sup>.

As in the case of the American community, the case study in South Africa reflected a similar increase in Holocaust awareness, however, the identity of South African Jewry remains rooted in a much stronger appreciation of Jewish tradition and culture. The case study revealed that although the Holocaust was recognized as a central event in modern Jewish history, this was understood in the context of a far larger continuum of historical development.

Yet even when the Holocaust was contextualized in the framework of wider Jewish history, a danger persisted that is closely akin to distortion through over-emphasis, namely in the teaching of Jewish history as a history of victimization. The Jewish historian Salo Baron referred to this as 'the Lachrymose conception' of Jewish history which views Jewish history as one of incessant suffering and persecution. Wistrich explains that this chronically negative view of Jewish history turns history into victimology (Wistrich quoted in Stanger and Brown, 1992)<sup>5</sup>. The effect of this lachrymose perception of Jewish history is one of disillusion and rejection. Herman Blumberg pointed out that it may even give rise to subconscious accusations against the victims with the view that they 'brought it upon themselves' (1968). It would also give rise to alienation and rejection of identification through the view that if this is what being Jewish means, then why be Jewish? Albert Friedlander encapsulates the problem in the following observation:

In bringing our children to the rim of the pit and the door of the chamber we risk their identifying too closely with the victims, on the one hand they may fall prey to genuine self hate, or at least disillusionment with Judaism and the Jewish people (Friedlander

quoted by Blumberg, 1968).

Of all the interest in the subject displayed by the pupils of Herzlia Weizmann in the case study, there was no discernible demonstration that they were in any way overwhelmed by the subject of the Holocaust, nor did it subsume other components of their Jewish Studies. The study showed that pupils constantly placed 'Israel' and 'Torah' on a par and more usually ahead of emphasis and interest in the Holocaust. Similarly the formal curriculum in Jewish history focused on the biblical period and on modern Israel. Taking these facets into account it was clear that the domination of a lachrymose perception of Jewish history had little opportunity of developing at Herzlia Weizmann.

A typical distortion in Holocaust education and also prevalent at Herzlia Weizmann was the emphasis on spiritual and physical resistance. The antitheses of victimization, it appeared as a means of coping with the unremitting destruction of the Holocaust and out of proportion to the historical reality. The focus on physical resistance, partisans and uprisings, themes all typical of Holocaust education in Israel and evident in the case study, counter-balanced the discomfort and rejection of the perceived passivity of the murdered victims. This emphasis had the effect of making this segment of history more 'serviceable' for ethnic education. Diane Roskies discredits both the distorted emphasis and particularly its motivation.

I have never once heard a child spontaneously question the Jewish response to the Nazis. The obsession is a function of adult Jewish guilt, shame, self-justification and apologetics (Roskies:1975).

Positive elements were also commonly found in Holocaust textbooks which often sought to engender affirming lessons from the tragedy. The 'Righteous Amongst The Nations' were most often cited as an example of such a redeeming element. Critics such as Roskies (1975) and Berenbaum (1986:445) have argued that such emphasis on goodness in the morass of evil would distort and diminish the reality of the tragedy. Both Roskies and Berenbaum have attempted to redirect the focus of attention.

The little bit of humanity displayed by a few people cannot in any way

counterbalance the destruction (Roskies:1975).

In contrast Harold Schulweis argues for the teaching of 'goodness'. But he does not do so to balance the effect of evil, and he readily acknowledges the disproportionate sense of evil in the Holocaust (Schulweis:1993). For Schulweis the rescuers acting in dire and dangerous circumstances not only saved lives but through their stories they continue to 'redeem humanity' and to demonstrate the option for resisting evil. For Schulweis restoring a sense of trust in humanity for the pupil outweighs any emphasis on measuring proportions of the tragedy (Schulweis:1993).

Laurence Baron calls for a more balanced approach between these two opposing views. He insists on a more sophisticated approach that explains the conditions and the significance of the acts of rescue without simply creating icons of morality. The rescuers should not be reduced to heroic status without depth and without an appreciation of their acts (Baron 1988). The problem of focus could therefore be resolved by emphasizing the life affirming dimensions as advocated by Schulweis, but only if it is set against the wider backdrop of the tragedy. This would serve to balance the distortion by keeping the destructive dimensions in the pupil's eye and would at the same time give the young pupil a more sophisticated appreciation of the 'acts of goodness'.

The issues of good and evil are central to the Holocaust but are not significant issues in the discipline of history. This discipline could not offer an all embracing critique or framework for the subject of the Holocaust and it fails to incorporate the subject's impact on contemporary Jewish identity. Thus Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer responded with a call for an 'alliance of the Chronicler and Job' (Bauer 1978:48). Nonetheless the Holocaust was a historical event and its study remained rooted in history and draws on the substantive structures of this discipline. Even when the cognitive skills required, are beyond the ability and sophistication of the primary school child the requirements of historical integrity and accuracy should be applied in what Bauer terms 'the conscientious approach' (Ibid). This is all the more necessary in the light of the accusations levelled by Holocaust deniers and revisionists who challenge the authenticity of the facts themselves.

The study showed that the children of Herzlia Weizmann are immersed in the collective memory of the local Jewish community which incorporates Holocaust awareness, and symbols and rituals associated with the Holocaust. This sense of collective memory nurtures ethnic identity but also lays the groundwork for later development and is consistent with Erik Erikson's view that later historical processes already enter the individual's core at childhood (Erikson 1968:257). In the child's maturation into adolescence cognitive skills become more sophisticated, and analytical skills and critical analysis are commensurate with the teenage period Erikson defines as the period of the youth's individual identity formation.

In youth the life history interacts with history where individuals are confirmed in their identities and societies regenerated in their life styles (Erikson 1967:258).

To bridge the child's identification and the identity formation in adolescence, the Holocaust curriculum in the primary school would need to introduce key aspects and build a progressively more sophisticated vocabulary and conceptualization that is appropriate in content and method to each successive age level. At the primary school this would involve an eclectic approach that responds to the child's appreciation and identification with stories of heroism, resistance and individual biographies. These would need to be set against the background of events and the overarching tragedy. At this earlier stage of development these stories are far more important than the systematic history of 'the Chronicler' and at the same time they prepare the child for later historical investigation such as the studies carried out in the Herzlia Middle and High schools.

While Holocaust literature and other cultural texts such as story telling and testimonies, are compelling accompaniments for Holocaust study for an adult, children's Holocaust literature has an especially important role for the primary school pupil. Eric Kimmel notes that involving children in the subject will not be achieved through history, simulation activities or by shock strategies, but through books (Kimmel 1975). Lisa Kuhmerker observes that children's literature, if suitable, offers a means for fusing children's cognitive and affective awareness of the subject. This is especially significant because of the younger child's inability to cope with a historical



perspective which even for the older student should be complimented by appropriate literature. Barbara Marinak explains that the literary experience succeeds in immersing the youngster in the facts, the experiences, consequences and responsibility (Marinak, 1993).

Suitable books could help the student recognize the human experience and foster involvement even from the youngest age where appropriate picture-books make an excellent introduction to the subject. This is well illustrated by book titles such as The Number On My Grandfather's Arm (Adler, 1978) (Appendix E.2) and The Tattooed Torah (Ginsburg 1983) (Appendix E.4). There are also books that offer alternative perspectives where empathy is not reserved for the victim alone but also for the bystander - an example of this is to be found in Hans Richter's classic - Friedrich (Richter, 1970).

Literature may be selected as a text for study as in the case of The Diary of Anne Frank (1952) which was studied in Standard Four at Weizmann. It may also be used as a basis for a course of study as formulated by Karen Shawn in her programme 'Anne Frank - In The Age Of Innocence (Shawn, 1989). Literature could be used to support teaching or alternatively it could be used for extension and general enrichment through encouraging pupils private reading.

The Herzlia Weizmann School library offered a suitable collection of books to answer the individual child's needs and appropriate books could be matched with the child's level of maturity and interest without imposing the subject on the entire class. Presenting Holocaust related books to the child requires sensitivity which was expressed by the librarian at the school where mediation of such books was commonly practised.

It is the duty of the librarian to bring the right book to the right child at the right time ... I certainly do not wish to foist these books upon them (Interview 7: School librarian).

As in the case of all children's literature certain criteria exist, in the case of Holocaust literature historical accuracy and authenticity, are added to the requirements of

literary quality. While the horror of the subject should not be allowed to overwhelm the reader, Lawrence Langer explains the need to deal with the reality of the Holocaust and that between the two extremes there is a wealth of material confronting the Holocaust and dealing with the issues (Langer 1978:18).

The wide range of Holocaust related literature for children is evident in the numerous bibliographies on the subject. For example Karen Shawn presents a bibliography that carries a synopsis of each book and gradings according to suitable levels of the pupils from Grades two to Grade twelve. She further assists the teacher by commenting on the books and by adding a list of books which she considers problematic (Shawn; 1994). Bibliographies may follow age chronology as in the case of Shawn's selection, or they may follow a thematic approach such as the one adopted by Lisa Kuhmerker (1986) and Barbara Marinak (1993) where books are conveniently listed according to topics such as - heroes; resistance; refugees; and victims.

The Weizmann school library as a resource for such books was noted as housing many types of books and particularly those Holocaust books suited to the senior primary school. The full potential of the multitude of books and the most recent publications available for the younger pupils however, had not been explored. With the rapidly increasing development of Holocaust literature evident, in the most recent catalogues<sup>6</sup> and bibliographies<sup>7</sup>, the library would need to be more fully developed as a resource for teaching Holocaust at the school. Resources also need not be restricted to literature and in the absence of a resource centre for the school, the library could house additional resources from the fields of art, music, film and the news media - all of which remained largely untapped but which could enhance the teaching of the subject. This view was confirmed by the school librarian:

The media doesn't make it easier but it makes it more possible  
(Interview 7: Librarian).

### C. COMMONPLACE : THE STUDENT

A question repeatedly arising in the literature and in the case study was the appropriate age at which to initiate the child into Holocaust education.

The Holocaust is so horrifying an event that if one could, one would postpone indefinitely telling one's children about it. But the Holocaust is fact - it is our heritage and we can't make it go away by ignoring it.

(Greenberg: 1979).

A general consensus emerged indicating that the ideal time would be the junior high school/middle school as in the case of state schooling in Britain and the United States. This was confirmed by a forum of Jewish educators of different Jewish denominations which recommended introduction begin at 13-14 years. (New Directions, 1973). This position took into consideration concerns regarding the traumatic effects the subject may have on younger children and also the cognitive maturity for dealing with the Holocaust as history.

The young [pre-adolescent] child is unable to grasp the significance of these events and can only be frightened by reference to it (Isaac Toubin: 1968).

Toubin's protective impulse typifies the repeated attempts found throughout Holocaust education literature to shield the younger child from the trauma of the subject.

Batsheva Dagan while sharing this protective impulse also allows pragmatic recognition to govern her approach. She has argued that the intrusion of the technological world 'brings Auschwitz into every home' regardless of time and space (Dagan 1987 H.C. 1.3.). Dagan explains that attempts to shield the child are a disservice that encourages the mystification of the subject, misinformation and trauma. To this end Dagan prepared her psycho-educational approach to teaching the Holocaust in early childhood in her kit - 'Helping Children To Learn About the Shoah' (Dagan 1987) (Appendix D: 2(iii) Review) She confronts the subject by carefully structuring and guiding the learning process. She pre-empts and prepares the child for the first encounter with the subject, and because Israeli children are exposed to public commemoration, she insists on the need to begin Holocaust education in the kindergarten.

The clinical psychologist Yael Dannieli suggests introducing the subject at the age of seven/eight, and stresses the importance not of the child's age but of the

appropriateness of the approach.

The way you convey the material to the child is really more important than whether you convey it. If you want real learning to take place you have to address yourself to the age group (Dannieli in Greenberg 1979).

Psychology offers numerous theories about the stages of the child's development and these suggest useful guidelines for preparing Holocaust education. Dagan in her psycho-educational approach points out that the young child lacks conceptual skills such as chronology, is egocentric and syncretic in thinking processes, and is at the preconventional level of Kohlberg's stages of moral development. These provide useful parameters for preparing the content and the method for teaching the child<sup>8</sup>. (Dagan: HCL 3-4). In a similar manner the previously described shift from collective history into critical history in the high school was in concert with Erik Erikson's theories of identity formation. The expanding, cumulative conceptual development built on earlier knowledge, introduces new dimensions appropriate to the student's age and responds directly to the student's psychological development.

These insights into the child's thought processes also assist in dealing with specific concepts and abstractions related to the subject. There was for example consensus that the numerical abstraction of six million should be taught through the stories of individuals<sup>9</sup>. This also applied to traumatic concepts such as 'death' and 'violence' which like the Holocaust itself, cannot be hidden from the child. Thus Roskies argues that since the child is beginning to develop a personal understanding of death it would be unjustifiable to teach bland, death denying facts (Roskies 1975:45).

Similarly Israel Charny notes that teaching about violence needs to be addressed.

[It] is as misleading a question as to whether or not sex education is desirable. In both cases and in all areas of basic human experiences, children inevitably learn a good deal about these impulse forces that lurk within them as well as all of us, whether or not society responsibly attempts to guide their learning experiences (Charney: 1969:16).

These guidelines notwithstanding, a disclaimer must be added that a slavish commitment to a single theory of psychology or to creating curricula solely in response to such a theory, was Schwab's motivation for writing his cautionary essay 'On The Corruption Of Education By Psychology' (Schwab 1958:169). For Schwab a theory of child development should not be permitted to subsume the curricula endeavour which should view competing theories and measure them against the practical case.

An example of such a text that is defined by a theoretical assumption is found in the case of Yitzchak Tatelbaum's 1985 textbook Through Our Eyes Review : (Appendix D: 2(i) Review). This Holocaust textbook was created on the premise that children readily relate to the predicament of other children. Roskies challenges this premise.

Children do not necessarily identify only with the plight of other children, so there is no reason to limit curricula to children's diaries and stories about young martyrs (Roskies 1975:45).

The pupil at Weizmann would be more inclined to identify with their shared Jewishness with Holocaust children rather than their similar juvenile age. Similarly their strong Jewish identity encourages pupils to identify with the plight of fellow Jews beyond just the plight of children per se.

Jewish children won't identify that readily with children in Rwanda or with violence in some remote setting, but they definitely identify with Jewish families, children and communities - the identification is there (Interview 12: Psychiatrist).

Concern that the subject would arouse anxiety in the pupil was another consideration that was repeatedly expressed. Teaching about the Holocaust was a way of demystifying the subject for the child and helped to avoid creating and reinforcing a taboo, but this meant exposure to possible anxiety. It has been argued that in order for the subject to be internalized and meaningful, the student would need to experience some discomfort and anxiety, but this would require a delicate balance that would prevent the child being overwhelmed.

It behoves us in considering teaching issues such as violence [of the

Holocaust] to strive to create a learning atmosphere in which there will be a significant experience of anxiety but not overwhelming terror.  
(Charny 1969:16).

A failure to maintain such a balance would result in the same effect as the lachrymose perception of Jewish history, namely disillusionment and rejection, or at the least a defence mechanism that would shut it out with a shield of indifference. A case in point was demonstrated by the standard three pupil at Weizmann, who when encouraged by her parents to watch the documentary The World At War - Genocide, explained that she had feigned sleep in order to avoid watching.

And I stopped reading the book [Number The Stars] because I didn't want to know more about the war (Interview 27: Pupil).

A danger also existed in the opposite effect which could result in a response of obsessiveness and of ghoulish interest. The most vulnerable children would be those already at risk.

I think you may find most of the children who are particularly dysfunctional and emotionally deprived ... they might thrive on this sort of thing (Interview 6: School Psychologist).

The teacher would therefore need to maintain the balance and be able to identify any threat of a breach, being particularly vigilant for symptoms displayed by dysfunctional children.

There are indicators that are symptoms that involvement is inappropriate and too intense ... excessive preoccupation, evidence of anxiety, nightmares, physical manifestations such as a trembling hand, weeping or nausea (Interview 12: Psychiatrist).

The teacher would also have to maintain a delicate balance between the curiosity of the individual pupil and the best interests of the entire group. The teacher would require skills at deferring questions and channelling responses for pupils who raise questions or drive discussion into areas inappropriate for the entire group.

Say to the individual that at the end of the lesson, 'Let's chat - you and I', thereby one isn't dealing with the whole class (Interview 12: Psychiatrist).

Overcoming the inherent dangers and the excessive anxiety they may trigger, should nonetheless be dealt with in an honest way and in a manner that inspires humility. Deceptions even with the best intentions would give rise to a loss of trust in the teacher and would add to the anxiety. Direct questions would need to be addressed.

Clearly one cannot deceive ... one avoids the feelings and the images and focuses on the facts (Interview 12: Psychiatrist)

Euphemisms are a question of gradation and could assist in softening more difficult details - thus 'putting to death' is better than speaking of 'murdering' or 'massacring' (Interview 12: Psychiatrist). Roskies, however, reminds that there should be recognition of legitimate and normal responses such as feelings of revenge, fear, and mourning (Roskies 1975:45). Teachers would need to be ready to guide pupils in working through these responses.

The method of instruction would therefore of necessity be structured around a safe environment for the pupil in which opportunities are created for the pupil to express responses, fears, and concerns, and an openness to the questions the pupil may pose. Discussion was a central feature of most of the programmes, and textbooks generally sought to promote discussion by offering thought provoking sources (Appendix D : Review of Textbooks). It was also noted, however, that in some texts facile questions distracted and redirected higher order thinking, inhibiting meaningful engagement with the subject.

Dagan (1987), in her approach, encourages discussion from the outset. She argues that Holocaust education should begin with discussion of knowledge previously acquired - drawing on earlier experiences as a trigger for open discussion. Engaging the pupil in this manner should not be limited to the introduction but would need to be encouraged as part of the classroom ethos and the lesson structure which would invite cognitive and effective participation. Along with these opportunities could be created for the extension and enrichment of both the group and the individual pupil.

Charny (1969) also recommended that excessive anxiety could be relieved through physical involvement and actions. Ceremonies and rituals offer such opportunities and

in addition to these rituals that had become entrenched, pupils could be encouraged to explore the creation of new and original rituals that would be appropriate as both memorialization and encourage their creative involvement.

Many teachers had sought techniques that would engage pupils and actively involve them but some examples display the teacher's inability to discern appropriate educational activities from trivializing gimmicks. An often repeated exercise was the tacking of a yellow star on to a child's garment as an act of solidarity and identification with Holocaust victims. (Rosenthal 1974)<sup>10</sup>. Philip Arian claimed that the yellow star attached to each pupil converted the 'badge of shame' into a 'badge of honour', however, he failed to register the irony of his own added observation and consternation:

Some of the students known for their devotion to things Jewish had even refused to wear the yellow badge! (Arian, 1968).

Bea Stadtler rejects gimmicks and simulations such as the example she gives of crowding a class of pupils into the cloakroom for forty-five minutes in order to simulate a deportation experience (Stadtler 1976:220). She discounted simulations and role-play that creates physical deprivation because they frequently backfire and because they are temporary fabrications that trivialize the original experience. And yet she does advocate cerebral simulation which ultimately has the same effect of simplifying complex issues and trivializing the events. For example she recommends creating a debate in which a student must choose six friends to hide in a futuristic fall-out shelter - as a simulation that supposedly would parallel the dilemmas and choices faced by the members of the Judenrat ghetto councils (Stadtler 1976:220)<sup>11</sup>.

Steven Copeland sums up the problem at the heart of such techniques:

Role play, simulation, Holocaust games (such as the Board game 'Gestapo') are inappropriate. They simulate reality and give a false sense of experience. And at the same time as they might teach, they tend to entertain and amuse as well (Copeland: 1978).

Similarly, Sylvia Abrams warns of a damaging effect of simulations of the nature described above:



Not only is simulation of the Holocaust an intellectual deception but it may also damage a student psychologically to simulate a life and death situation (Abrams: 1989).

Another means of extending the pupil and also offering a means of coping with anxiety is to offer the pupil a perspective in addition to that of the victim. By encouraging empathy for the 'Bystander', and identification with the dilemmas confronting the bystander, the pupil would temporarily focus on a perspective other than that of 'the Jew as victim'. This would bring new lessons to the student as bystanders in their own society and would raise issues of commitment to action and the fulfilment of the schools stated aims of developing a strong sense of their own humanity (Herzlia Weizmann Parents Guide 1993:9).

It is likely to be deeply anxiety relieving if the learning is funnelled into a commitment to humanness that is to constructive action on behalf of one's self and of all mankind (Charny: 1969).

Such a perspective would also assist in breaking through any tendency towards a notion of a lachrymose perception of Jewish history since it challenges the student by identifying them as bystanders rather than as victims, and thereby challenges their position in relation to the victimisation of other groups.

#### D. COMMONPLACE: THE TEACHER

The teacher plays a central role in education positioned at what Elly Dlin terms 'the confluence of the commonplaces' (Dlin 1991:12). This places the teacher at a pivotal position in terms of both the implementation and achievement of the curriculum, and therefore similarly in the development of curricula.

The Herzlia system recognized this and teachers were allowed considerable latitude as part of the school's disposition that favours experimentation for educational development. This was found to be the case in the field of Jewish Studies where besides the set topics, the curriculum itself was only loosely prescriptive regarding content and method. While this had offered a wide scope for innovation, it had also inadvertently resulted in fragmentation and isolated endeavours by either groups or by

individual teachers. In the case of Holocaust education this gave rise to a lack of cohesion both within individual schools and within the global Herzlia system.

Teachers responses about teaching the Holocaust expressed in the interviews and questionnaires, indicated their sense of frustration and the extent of these problems. Teachers' responses were similar in all the Herzlia primary schools and could be clustered around the following issues which are illustrated by comments drawn from the teachers interviews.

#### D1. Issues

- (i) Insufficient guidance
  - we want to know how much to tell
  - we want to know from a psychological point of view what we are permitted to teach
  - we would like to get the help of a psychologist or say a rabbi, to tell us and help us.
- (ii) A lack of structure and cohesion
  - there isn't a graded primary school curriculum per year
  - what is being taught in Jewish Studies on the Shoah?
  - I have no idea of aspects [of the Holocaust] appearing in other subjects in the school.
  - A proper directive from above [for teaching] from kindergarten to the graduating year, is needed.
- (iii) Inadequate training in methodology
  - I need greater input on how to approach certain aspects
  - we need more training
  - we need instruction of how to put it across
- (iv) A lack of resources and materials
  - More age appropriate materials are needed
  - we need materials such as books and films.

Elly Dlin in his paper for advancing curricular development for Holocaust studies, presents an argument for successful realization through the general enhancement of teacher professionalism (Dlin 1991:11). He quotes Isa Aron's criteria for the

professionalization of teaching as being - greater autonomy; legitimacy through knowledge and skills; and commitment to the subject and the task. In terms of these recommendations a problem at the Herzlia Primary Schools in the case of Holocaust education was identified in the study as being unchannelled autonomy. Despite a strong sense of commitment and responsibility, autonomy dissolved into frenetic efforts when faced with the severe limitations of time, and pressure to teach and commemorate a subject that is by definition difficult to teach. This had resulted in a lack of efficacy and while teachers did not indicate a feeling of inadequacy in their knowledge of the subject, in regard to goals, methodology, resources and curriculum, there was confusion and a lack of confidence which underscored the clear appeal for assistance.

Addressing the issues raised by the teachers would require the allocation of time set aside in order to devise and present a programme of seminars and workshops. These already formally existed and had been the forum for gleaning information from the teachers for the case study. These took the form of weekly seminars in various departments of the schools and included the Judaica department. Without a clear curriculum for Holocaust education the development workshops and in-service training sessions would not succeed in fulfilling their potential and would continue to be used in a random manner for planning events as they occurred or for arbitrary teacher enrichment. These sessions for teachers could be better utilized in the case of Holocaust education. While they could still be based on teachers specific requests and concerns they could also address issues such as teachers personal involvement and difficulties with the subject; enriching the teachers knowledge; methodological issues; and also issues of resources and their uses.

## D2. Addressing Issues

### (i) The Personal Dimension

In the case study teachers referred to their own difficulties in dealing with the subject as adults, and the difficulties it raised for them in presenting it to children. Thus the head of Hebrew at Weizmann observed:

I have never had teachers who told me they don't want

to teach this, but I don't know if they have just never told me! (Interview 18: Head of Hebrew).

The teacher requires a process of self-questioning and reflection as part of the preparation for teaching the subject. Byron Sherwin's calls for the need to deal with emotional, religious, intellectual and personal feelings about the Holocaust. (Sherwin 1982)

Similarly Batsheva Dagan, in her psycho-educational approach, displayed concern not only for the emotional well-being of the pupil but also for the well-being of the teacher. Dagan offers concrete advice in the form of preparatory questions as an introduction and an orientation. These questions, intended for the individual or for groups invite reflection about personal exposure to the subject, aims and content knowledge. She encourages discussion and debate by asking pertinent questions such as opinions about when to introduce the child to the subject, personal responses to key phraseology such as 'Shoah' and 'Sheep to the Slaughter' (Dagan 1987:S.P.2).

Dagan's approach is an important contribution because it serves not only to conscientize teachers to the difficulties and nuances of the subject, but it also gives teachers the opportunity to express their own anxieties, difficulties and experiences, in a mutually supportive group.

## (ii) Knowledge

The study revealed that none of the staff interviewed had formally studied the subject beyond secondary school although over a third of the staff had attended lectures on the subject. Greater knowledge of the subject would engender greater confidence in preparing and teaching the subject (Sherwin 1982).

International courses such as those at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and at the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C., offer intensive study of the subject. But the case study revealed that even in the local

milieu a multitude of courses and programmes were available.

Teachers could be encouraged to attend these and to share insights gleaned from them. An additional and alternative option would be for the school to promote the expertise of a selected member of staff who could co-ordinate activities and guide colleagues from the wider staff. Guest lecturers, the review of books, documents, films and news are useful resources for further teacher enrichment. Liaison with fellow teachers would also open the way for increased integration. Nancy Karkowsky's Teacher's Discussion Guide for Bea Stadtler's textbook (1976) serves as a good example of how teachers could be extended with the use of appropriate guidelines and resources, and how they would thereby acquire greater confidence for teaching the subject.

(iii) Methodology and Resources

Based on the principle of shared goals and objectives, and responding to the teachers request for more information, the seminars could be used to explain the structural framework and the guiding principles of the curriculum. Awareness of the structure of the graded programme and clarity over goals would offer teachers greater perspective of their own role within the global curriculum. Alleviating the existing sense of isolation would also address the urge expressed by some teachers 'to have to do everything' (Interview 16: Teachers). Awareness of the global curriculum would also deter teachers from random emphasis of a favoured aspect of the subject resulting in unnecessary repetition. Such forms of duplication and overlap, evident in the case study would be overcome as themes would be allocated to designated locations in the curriculum. A further benefit of familiarity with the global curriculum would be the development of a common language and shared awareness of parameters; these would ensure consistency, development and commemoration in suitable ceremonies for the entire school.

The seminar and workshop would also present a forum for considering

the application of methods and especially alternative methods as suggested by the literature and textbooks analysed in this study. These include methods and techniques such as story-telling, discussion triggers, and the questionable use of gimmicks and simulations. The workshop would offer the opportunity to develop teachers critical skills for evaluating options; for content analysis; and for uncovering the potential of the increasing number of textbooks and units. It would also offer a forum for establishing criteria and developing skills for mediating resources such as source materials, photographs, books, computers, literature and the news media.

Although at the time of this study Cape Town lacked a Holocaust Museum and resource centre<sup>12</sup>, investigation revealed the existence of extensive libraries and resources in various institutions in the city such as the community library and that of the local universities. The Cape Town Holocaust Memorial Council expressed its desire to assist in promoting Holocaust education, and through the catalogues of various international institutions, resources could be reviewed and acquired. Even though resources in Cape Town for the primary school were limited, the pooling of materials in the schools and in the entire system could be augmented and expanded to encompass all the Jewish day schools in South Africa which all share the challenge and the need to address Holocaust education in the South African context.

The teachers role was defined as being central to the curriculum. This was broadened from the teachers of the specific subject to all teachers in the school. A further dimension exists, however, regarding the specific case of Holocaust education. The teachers carry an additional responsibility because although not first hand witnesses, with the passing of the survivors, the teachers will have to increasingly fill an inevitable void in conveying the powerful impact associated with the presence and testimony of survivors. The teacher, therefore, would need to acquire knowledge, methods and skills in an area of education and in a manner for which there is neither a precedent nor a ready model to emulate.

## E. COMMONPLACE: MILIEU

It was established that the milieu is a significant factor in shaping the identity of a minority group - the particular religio-ethnic identity of South Africa Jewry has thus developed in response to the wider South African milieu. This has influenced the Jewish community's perceptions and perspectives and therefore its approach to teaching the Holocaust. The nature and the limitations of ethnic education formed an important dimension for these deliberations and were considered as an over-arching factor of the deliberation process.

In addition to the impact on the internal perspective of ethnic identity, the milieu presented other perspectives on the Holocaust through its interpretation and manifestations in the various media. This raised the question as to the degree to which these external perspectives influenced, shaped or re-enforced the perceptions of the community and its children. It is only with the passing of time that popular interest in the subject would be able to be assessed. This would determine if its high profile was merely a passing fad that may well have peaked with the fiftieth anniversaries and commemorations that were current at the time of the study. But whatever later assessments reveal, the case study bore testimony to a significant impact in the period of this study.

Popular interest was largely generated by the media of film, video and news. All of these are financial enterprises that are motivated by monetary gain. The news media is reliant on public interest and especially thrives on sensationalism; the film industry is similarly dominated by its goals to entertain. In accordance with the nature of their aims both media have used the subject and trivialized it. The issue is not just what Nelly Wilson has termed 'the desecration of the Holocaust by mass media' (Wilson 1988:1158), but the enticing appeal of these media which use advanced technology and unlimited financial resources. The impact on the child by such media may well be more powerful than any attempts made to convey the subject in the classroom. —

John Barlow expressed concern about such influences and warns that the reaction

triggered by the visual images cannot be predicted and could result in revulsion, distortion, indifference and rejection.

Adorno's distrust of the culture industry is based in part on the insidious power to influence people without their knowing they are being influenced, and its ability to seduce them into participating in their own loss of autonomy. (Barlow 1988:1420).

Children are particularly vulnerable to the power of filmatic presentation in dictating meaning. Barlow stresses the need for teaching skills of analysis in 'a programme of cultural literacy' to resist what Adorno called 'the programming effect' of the culture industry. Barlow points out:

It is not a question of what should be known. Everything is shown and probably always will be shown legally or illegally ... (Barlow 1988:1420).

Not unexpectedly the situation has been likened to children acquiring knowledge of sex which may be learned from hearsay, from peers, and through the distorted and inappropriate visual media of film and television. In both the cases of sex and of the Holocaust, the media thrusts its images upon the child so that the educators role of necessity becomes twofold - of finding ways to teaching the subject with sensitivity and with appropriate methods; and from a protective position of mediating the distortions that confront a child<sup>13</sup>. The approach and the degree to which this is carried out would depend on the extent of the exposure, the requirements of a given context which would be dictated by socio-cultural imperatives, and the levels of sophistication of the pupils in a given setting.

It is a question of how to look, how to educate the young in viewing and how to stimulate through visual images, and to look beyond the image and to reflect on what has been seen, what they have experienced and what they know (Barlow 1988:1421).

While the Herzlia primary schools sought to perpetuate Jewish identity and was teaching the internal religio-ethnic perspective of the Holocaust, to secure this perspective in the face of contrary perspectives and distortions in the media, the school would have little choice but to address these influences. Teachers would



require training in methods that would sensitize pupils and alert them to the persuasive power and impact of these influences from the milieu.

Teaching the skills of analysis even to young children would be an essential step in helping them to confront faddism, trivialization, oversimplification and other distortions. Seymour Rossel exemplified this approach of turning the media into the content for Holocaust education, when he introduces students to techniques of 'reading' photographs in his textbook The Holocaust, The World And The Jews 1933-45 (Rossel 1992:14)<sup>14</sup>. Photographs; video; film; computer programmes; and news items from the media could all be harnessed for their educational potential and could be transformed into a component of the content of Holocaust education. If pupils were guided in this way they would not only be gaining an understanding of content but they would be acquiring skills and tools for coping with the media and the challenges they pose for interpreting the Holocaust.

Another dimension of the milieu which was in little evidence in the case study of Herzlia Weizmann, was the particular South African context and its history. Using 'local history' was a field explored by Sheila Chiat in her programme created for a Hebrew supplementary school in London (Chiat 1993:6). She demonstrates its potential by exploring themes in the relationship between Britain and the Holocaust. She devotes a quarter of her programme to this dimension which in the case of Britain includes diverse issues such as the refugee children of the pre-war Kindertransporte, British involvement in the war, the 'home-front', and the complexities of the British mandate over Palestine at that time. Rooting the study in South Africa had limited scope for the primary school curriculum because of the pupils limited knowledge of the history of South Africa. Rather than a thematic focus, points of reference and interest could be introduced - such as the racial policies of the apartheid system; the British incarceration of Boer families in concentration camps; the role of South Africans in the Allied Forces; and popular anti-semitism in South Africa before and during the war years.

Bea Stadtler uses the local context in this way when she draws on pupils knowledge of American history and values and uses these as familiar points of reference for

teaching about the Holocaust. For example, she employs concepts such as liberty, democracy and equality. Old concepts and symbols in South Africa and official apartheid historiography itself, have been rejected, but the emergence of the new South Africa has brought new opportunities. The potential for cross referencing and for understanding racism and its effects in terms of the apartheid system, could be used to enhance Holocaust education. And while not the main thrust for teaching about the Holocaust at Weizmann, the issues of racism and prejudice would be particularly pertinent, and would also convey a personal and universal message of humanitarianism that prepares the pupils for their roles as citizens of the 'new' South Africa.

The South African milieu also offered a resource of a different and more direct nature in the form of refugees and survivors who have made their homes in South Africa. The survivors story, especially when conveyed by the survivors themselves, is a powerful means for informing pupils, however, this could also be fraught with problems. Testimonies, for example, for historical and judicial purposes require accuracy of detail which is often lost in survivors testimonies due to selective memory, ageing and changing perspectives<sup>15</sup>. In addition, presenting a survivor to pupils would require mutual sensitivity for the vulnerability of the child and the survivor. Thus appropriate guidance and facilitation prior and during the presentation are necessary. Chiat also recommends that rather than exposing pupils to difficult testimonies about ghettos and camps, she prefers drawing on the testimonies of hidden children or refugees such as the children of the kindertransporte.

Survivors are not a homogenous group - there are survivors who are well adjusted, gracious and dignified. But there are survivors who one does not expose to children, they are neurotic and damaged ... one has to prepare them [the former] and the children (Interview 12: Psychiatrist).

In addition to local survivors living in Cape Town, there are also members of the community and family members who were hidden children, resistance fighters, Allied soldiers amongst many others whose stories represent a living history and testimony well suited to presentations or interviews. The living witness in direct contact with the

pupils, engage them and concretize the abstractions and generalizations. Less effectively and less directly, the teacher could nonetheless draw on the locally compiled book edition of the testimonies of Holocaust survivors in Cape Town, (Schrire 1995) and on the interviews of survivors in South Africa - To Bear Witness (1995) from which suitable footage could be selected<sup>16</sup>.

The perspective of the survivor is that of victim, and often the testimonies of bystanders and of perpetrators are overlooked, despite the potential they hold of bringing additional understanding. Clara Isaacman, in her textbook Pathways Through The Holocaust (Appendix D.1. : Review), included these viewpoints as did Claude Lanzman in his film Shoah. The stories and testimonies of Righteous Gentiles are examples of such alternative viewpoints and though there are few in number in South Africa, their stories are especially significant for the primary school pupils who respond well to story telling.

One doesn't want children to grow up mistrusting the world, mistrusting gentiles, perceiving the world as threatening, violent and unfriendly ... so that even if the Righteous Gentiles were a tiny minority that has to be stressed ... they are an important resource, and there are Righteous Gentiles residing in Cape Town (Interview 12: Psychiatrist).

Organizations such as *Shearith Ha'Pleithah* and The Cape Town Holocaust Memorial Council are local organizations in Cape Town which are committed to educating about the Holocaust. Both are as potential resources for teaching the subject while their function and purpose could also be included in the content of the lessons.

In the immediate milieu of the inner circle of the child's environment lies the home and the family. Research has shown that it is the influence of the home rather than the school which has a far greater impact upon the values and attitudes of the pupils.

Jewish education was probably more closely related to parents attitudes and the general Jewish atmosphere of the home than to formal studies at school (Dubb 1977:90)<sup>17</sup>.

While such observances applied to the level and attitudes towards religious

observance, the surveys in this study revealed that not only were there no parental objections to the Holocaust being taught or commemorated, but there was parental interest and active involvement. Parental involvement could be enhanced further through newsletters and workshops that would tap into their interest in the subject and by explaining the content and approach employed in their children's classes. Parents could also be encouraged to learn from their children and alongside their children through the process of commemoration. To this end a project was undertaken in 1995 in which each family at the school received a memorial candle in order to commemorate Yom HaShoah. Over ninety per cent of pupils in the Herzlia Primary Schools reported lighting the candles with their families. Parents had been supplied with a short text<sup>18</sup>, and an explanatory letter and were encouraged to carry out the ritual with all the family members gathered together.

Rituals and ceremonies of this sort could play an important part not only in the national and religious act of commemoration, but in complementing and integrating school values and practises with those of the family, and in drawing the individual family members together.

The milieu of family, home and community added another dimension to teaching the subject of the Holocaust, especially for the younger child. While Diane Roskies insisted that teaching the subject should include an appreciation of what was destroyed, her focus was on the lost culture and communities of Eastern Europe (Roskies 1975:41)<sup>19</sup>. The primary school pupil, however, lacks the cognitive maturity to fully comprehend the cultural, historical and socio-economic dimensions related to understanding this loss. Yet by drawing on the child's appreciation of school, synagogue and home - facets of life which are directly meaningful to the child, these may become points of reference for what was destroyed in the Holocaust. With this in mind the act of commemorating the Holocaust at home and at school would take on added resonance. It would not only involve the child and the family in commemoration but would act as an affirmation of Jewish life and survival. This would be in accord with what theologian Emil Fackenheim called the new additional 614th Command of the Torah.

The authentic Jew of today is forbidden to hand Hitler yet another

posthumous victory ... we are commanded as Jews to remember the martyrs and forbidden to despair of God. (Fackenheim 1978:23).

Positive affirmation would thus represent a symbolic resistance to the destructive intentions of Nazism and a commitment to Jewish continuity.

## F. ESTABLISHING GOALS

In the overarching issues that cut across the commonplaces the determining of goals for Holocaust education is a pivotal issue. The wide range of textbooks, programmes and literature on the subject revealed a plethora of goals. As part of the deliberation process the multitude of goals were compared and analysed in order to determine objectives that were in accord with the needs of the case study.

Bea Stadtler identified four components in the goals of Holocaust education, she lists these as knowledge; emotion; values; and action (Stadtler 1978:218). Each of these would be defined by the *weltanschauung* of their context from which they emerged and for which they are intended. Similarly, as was demonstrated in the analysis of textbooks (Appendix D), the approach, content and method, were determined by the ideological assumptions underlying the worldview.

In making a conscious choice of perspective the instructor also determines the focus of the curriculum design as well as the vision of the Holocaust which may be imparted to the students - to the exclusion of alternative views and perspectives (Sherwin 1982).

A phrase that was repeatedly intoned as a goal for Holocaust education was the expression 'Never Again!', but this rallying call and its lack of clarity, typifies the diversity of viewpoints and interpretations of identical data. Michael Ungar questions its meaning:

'Never Again' is often used to sum up the goals of Holocaust education but does this refer to - 'Never Again to the Jews'; 'Never Again should Jews allow themselves to be vulnerable'; 'Never Again to anyone, or 'Never Again to Genocide'? (Ungar 1992:38)

Elly Dlin categorized the goals of Holocaust education into 'Universal goals' and



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'Jewish goals'. He lists the Jewish goals as Jewish identity and identification, active involvement in the Jewish community and Zionism, and working towards better relations between Jews and gentiles (Dlin 1991:26). These particularistic goals are generally nationalistic in character and are typical of textbooks and programmes designed for Jewish students. They focus on the implications of the Holocaust for the Jewish people and the need to strengthen identity and continuity as demonstrated by these examples from such textbooks:

- We seek to instil a Jewish consciousness and a sense of Jewish identification (Gutman: 1963:132)
- Young Jews may find in it [the textbook] answers to questions about themselves, who they are ... they must realise they too are survivors (Bauer in Stadtler 1974: Preface XIII)
- A sense of identification with the Jewish past - the development of a sense of responsibility for the Jewish present and future - to strengthen Jewish life (Herman 1977:4)

In his list of universal goals, Dlin includes raising the level of critical thinking for good citizenship in a democracy, prejudice reduction, raising the level of moral judgement, and focusing on human nature and the understanding of the essence of man (Dlin 1991:25). These universalistic goals, not unexpectedly, are reflected in books and curricula of non-parochial, state education in liberal democracies such as the United Kingdom and United States. These goals are social in character and seek to preserve democracy and combat prejudice.

- To teach civil virtue - what the Germans call *Zivilcourage* and the importance of responsible citizenship (H. Friedlander 1979)
- To explore the fundamental problems of the individual's relation to the modern state (Kean 1983:XIX)
- To understand and be sensitized to mechanisms which arouse prejudice (Gutman and Schatzker 1984:6)

Dlin's categories focus on social and national goals and though these include such goals as enhancing moral judgement and individual's rights in a democracy, he did not specifically recognize a third category relating to the personal life and behaviour of



the individual. This category focuses on humanistic values of personal ethics and morals, goals which are characterized in Holocaust literature in the following way:

- To act with greater humanity in the actions and decisions of the students daily lives (Webb 1978:XIV)
- To think about events in relation to their own lives and choices (Supple: 1993 Preface XII)
- To cultivate tools of rational and critical thinking (Carmon 1979:213)

The three categories of national, social and humanistic/individual goals are not mutually exclusive and appear in a number of overlapping combinations. The presence of individuals goals with universal, and with particularistic goals resulted in Dlin's blurring of these categories. The combination of universal and particularistic Jewish national goals presents a tension since the emphasis of one would diminish the other. Particularistic goals are inevitably more limited in state education where particularism is reduced to case studies of prejudice, racism and genocide. In Jewish education this tension was less evident and universal goals were almost always included as at least secondary goals in such lists<sup>20</sup>.

In Israel the combination of goals took on an interesting nuance with some programmes appearing to be exclusively universalistic and humanitarian in intent; the Israeli context however, assured the automatic inclusion of the Jewish national dimension. The generalized references to a democratic society is understood to be a reference to the State of Israel as in the case of the goals defined by Arye Carmon.

- To aid adolescents in their adjustment to becoming members of a democratic society (Carmon 1979:213).

Amongst Jewish educators in many countries there have been a number of calls for a balance between the universal and the particularistic goals. Herman explains:

In Jewish education the concern is repeatedly expressed to find a balance or inclusive approach that will address the wider humanitarian goals and relevance for the individual pupil (Herman 1977:2).

This desire notwithstanding, many of these educators recognize a need to favour the Jewish dimension as intrinsic to the nature of Jewish education.

While not ignoring the unrealistic implications, it is more proper to focus the attention of Jewish youth on the particularistic Jewish implications of what was a tragedy of the Jewish people (Herman 1977:3).

Subscribing to the same point of view Bea Stadtler placed her emphasis on the Jewish dimension but incorporated universal values within this.

They can be alerted to take up the cause when there is any attrition of civil liberties because the most insignificant curtailment can erode the rights of Jews and non-Jews alike (Stadtler 1976:218).

The emphasis of the balance, the exact position on the particularistic-universalist continuum, and the concomitant emphasis on cognitive and affective aspects, along with goals of personal relevance, are all determined by the ethos and dictates of the specific context and setting.

By establishing the place and role of Holocaust education at Herzlia Weizmann, appropriate goals could be determined. Pupils responses, matched by those of the parents, teachers and community members, included personal and universal dimensions, but were most heavily weighted in favour of the national-traditional ethos of the school. Concepts of peoplehood, identity, continuity, commemoration and preventing another Holocaust of the Jewish people, all featured prominently in these responses. This placed Holocaust education in the school firmly in the realm of ethnic education and the nurturing of Jewish identity. The issue was less the consensus over goals, and more to do with establishing precisely what is meant by ethnic education in the Herzlia Weizmann context.

## G. ETHNIC EDUCATION

The term ethnic education has been applied to a number of types of education and in many different contexts. For example in the South African context it has reflected the mandatory ethnic identity and programme of separate development used to perpetuate racial segregation in the apartheid system. Ethnic education has also arisen as a result of the recognition given to minority groups in pluralistic societies and liberal democracies such as Britain and North America where it manifests as multicultural education. This has sometimes taken the form of tokenism rather than offering serious

study of an ethnic group. Ethnic education has taken other forms and purposes and in the context of Herzlia Weizmann it reflects the ethos of the Jewish community which established this school. The community employs Jewish education in the Hebrew Day-School structure, as a means of survival and continuity and with the aim of perpetuating personal identification and commitment to the local Jewish community, to Judaism, and to world Jewry.

The primary objective of Jewish education is to develop a meaningful Jewish identity ... giving children a clearer sense of belonging, and acceptance of this belonging as positively meaningful (Herman 1991).

At the core of ethnic education, in the context of the Herzlia Weizmann case study, lay the complex concept of Jewish identity. Identity incorporates an awareness of self and of the individual within his group in society, and hence the fusion found in the social-psychological perspective favoured by Simon Herman. Herman defined Jewish identity in the following way:

The attributes that characterize the Jewish group or the relationship of the individual to the Jewish group, and the reflections in him of its attributes (Herman 1977:30).

Herman also identifies a duality in Jewish identity which he sees as being made up of a religious component and an ethnic or peoplehood component.

These [components] cannot be isolated without disturbing the essential character and distorting the nature of Jewish identity (Herman 1977:37).

Recognizing this dualism Barry Chazan has argued that Jewish education is irreducible to either just religious or just ethnic education. He showed that a unique blend of both exists. Jewish education did not fit the category of denominational education as in the case of church schools, but neither did it fit the ethnic-national education found, for example, amongst Poles and Italians in multinational American society. Chazan argues that it is precisely the interwoven, inseparable aspects which give Jewish identity its inherently *sui generis* nature and Jewish education its 'Janus faced image'<sup>21</sup> (Chazan 1975:2).

The duality in Jewish education was abundantly reflected in the case study and in the national traditional ideology and ethos of Herzlia School. It was also evident in the practical observances and ceremonies carried out at *Yom HaShoah*. Identity is however not static and group identity is moulded by the conditions of the host society. This had implications for the balance between the religious and ethnic emphasis of Jewish identity in South Africa. In the apartheid years with the emphasis on mandatory ethnic identity, the ethnic dimension had dominated South African Jewish identity. But while this included a strong religious dimension this latter component has taken on increased significance. In the post-apartheid era with the emergence of an overarching national identity in South Africa, there has also been an increased respect for all religions and belief systems in South Africa and this has increased the emphasis on the religious dimension albeit at an official institutional level<sup>22</sup>.

Despite the impact and influence of the surrounding society, Herman points out that group identity also has an independent existence in the form of accumulated historical products (Herman 1977:37). The Holocaust is such a historical experience that has become fixed in the collective memory of the Jewish people and has established a shared experience and sense of common fate. To that end it has given a sense of peoplehood that is central to ethnic identity. It has also engendered unity in the community as was evident in the case study where all denominations and streams were joined in communal commemoration<sup>23</sup>. This unifying effect of the Holocaust had been identified and encouraged in order to further the sense of peoplehood, and of shared experience and memory:

The Holocaust victims were not all socialists, not all secularists, not all Zionists, not all *Agudaists* [Ultra-Orthodox], not all *Mizrachists* [Religious Zionists], not all believers, and not all agnostics - they were *Klal Yisrael* - the totality of our people (Lamm 1976:57).

In terms of establishing goals for its Jewish education, the emphasis on nationhood does not preclude humanistic aims, and by definition includes universal ethics and values.

Jewish education must engage in moral education or it is not teaching one of the central messages of Judaism. At the same time it cannot engage exclusively in morals since morality is but one of several dimensions of the Jewish experience (Chazan 1978:93).

In state schooling in Britain and USA the Holocaust was taught as part of moral and civic values. In Jewish education as was evident in the case study, the Holocaust studies, while carrying such values, was primarily concerned with ethnic identity and nurturing a sense of peoplehood. Personal ethics, Jewish morality and universal values were intrinsic and such lessons not only permeate all aspects of Jewish education but they also have their own components within the wider framework of Jewish Studies in the school.

Ethnic education of the type espoused by Herzlia School gave rise to issues that went beyond the issue of the duality of national and religious dimensions. For example in order to develop pupils' commitment to a collective national identity a suitable balance was required between affective and cognitive education. This balance manifested itself in formal and informal education and in the parallel spheres of commemoration and study. Chaim Schatzker points out the interconnectedness of the spheres but also the need to separate them for purposes of analysis.

There is no doubt that knowledge and commemoration are both interlinked and essential, but for the purpose of deliberation we have to separate them as each demands different and specific didactic considerations (Schatzker 1965:24).

The cognitive approach to the study of the Holocaust is thematic or chronological and is characterized by objectivity and by rational and critical analysis based on research and on historical sources. In contrast the affective approach is driven by subjectivity and strives to arouse profound feelings and is experiential and emotional in nature. Within ethnic education at Herzlia these dimensions overlap and this gave rise to the ambiguities expressed by the teachers in the case study. The goal of nurturing collective memory invites emphasis on commemoration but it includes study and even co-opts critical study in order to enhance identification and to achieve its aims. The development of a historical, critical approach takes on greater significance

in the Middle and High Schools where students greater intellectual sophistication needs to be addressed by such an approach. But even in these more advanced stages the affective dimensions would need to be sustained through annual ceremonies and commemoration which are given greater depth and resonance through the historical, cognitive dimension.

The case study demonstrated how the affective approach dominated the primary school, and content and method needed to be designed to encourage the development of an emotional impact and identification. The focus was therefore on the main vehicle of affective involvement, namely the act of commemoration. The increase of intellectual sophistication of the senior primary school pupils, however, should be recognized. The introduction to the historical approach becomes critical for creating a bridge and a sense of continuity as the perspective shifts in the move from primary to the middle school. Failure to bridge the shift of focus would serve to invalidate the affective approach and appeal in the primary school when the students begin to perceive their earlier identification as childish or even more detrimentally, as a form of indoctrination. For this same reason gimmicks and simulations were inappropriate methods for Holocaust education and although they succeed in eliciting affective responses, they serve to oversimplify and trivialize, and rely on the emotional manipulation of the child.

The more common approach, and the one used in the case study was previously described as the 'Chaggim Paradigm'. This paradigm was entrenched as a normative approach in the Jewish Studies programme of the primary schools and it involved both teaching and study, and observance through celebration, commemoration and ritual. It included other subjects of the Jewish Studies curriculum such as prayer; laws and customs which likewise were both studied and practised at school. The case study had, however, also revealed the limitations of the effectiveness of this paradigm. As the main method and approach in teaching the Holocaust in the primary school, it required closer evaluation.

Some of the shortcomings of the *Chaggim* Paradigm related to the nature of the paradigm rather than to the specific subject of the Holocaust or *Yom HaShoah*. The

commitment to preparing and commemorating each festival at the time of its calendar appearance was a respected facet of the school's curriculum, but it also resulted in relegating the teaching of the subject to a specific and fixed time of the year. This was done without any regard for chronology or the historicity of the content, or of the suitability of the timetable. The commemoration and especially the teaching of the subject was therefore isolated, fragmented, lacking in development, and repetitive. Neither did this paradigm encourage or promote integration into the wider curriculum.

The limitations of the paradigm were further exacerbated in the case of the commemoration of the Holocaust because of the nature of the subject. Foremost was the difficulty presented by the magnitude and weight of the tragedy and the ensuing incomprehensibility. Another problem lay in the timing - with the commemoration of *Yom HaShoah* falling in the school holidays or immediately thereafter; and also midway between Passover (marking the Biblical Exodus) a week prior; and Israel's Independence Day (dating to 1948) falling a week after *Yom HaShoah*.

The *Chaggim* Paradigm was also based on the learning and observance of standardized rituals. *Yom HaShoah* lacks such rituals and guidelines for commemoration. This is all the more apparent when compared with other festivals and fast days which enjoy long and rich histories of traditions, symbols and ceremonies. The tentative nature of the commemoration is compounded by the general lack of resources and materials. The analysis revealed developments in these fields, thus recent textbooks and teaching aids displayed an increased attempt to produce suitable resources. Similarly the case study showed that a pattern of commemorative observances was slowly being shaped both in the South African community and around the world.

Despite these more recent developments the paradigm was still inadequate in terms of its own parameters and in its limited success in fulfilling communal expectations regarding the Holocaust. The increased importance of the subject in the community ethos was replicated in the attitudes of the pupils, but this was not being reflected in the school's curriculum. The paradigm also failed to go beyond itself into the wider

curriculum. It not only ignored the impact of the external influences of the wider milieu, it failed to confront and counter such intrusions which are central in forming the child's understanding of the subject.

A number of teachers in the case study had intuitively recognized these limitations and had sought to address them, but this had been done independently and had not been a school wide phenomenon or a systematic attempt to deal with the problems. There had also not been any serious reflection or critique of these shortcomings in terms of the method and content of the paradigm.

It was noted that the paradigm for its part was entrenched and held a central place in the Jewish education of the Herzlia system as it did in other Jewish schools in South Africa and abroad. Goals therefore for teaching the Holocaust, had to aim at maximising the full potential of the paradigm. This was aided by the fact that unlike ancient festivals and commemorations, the Holocaust like Israel's independence, was a historical event that had occurred in living memory and with ample sources, resources and witnesses. Its immediacy was paralleled by its seminal importance for contemporary Jewish identity. Unlike other events of the *Chaggim* Paradigm the Holocaust and Israel's independence would also be fully developed and studied in the Jewish history programmes of the Middle and High Schools. The paradigm could therefore be effectively employed if it were part of the development toward the fruition of a system-wide, encompassing goal.

By recognizing the limitations of its parameters, the paradigm could still accommodate a spiral and cumulative graduation where concepts and content are graded for ongoing broadness and age appropriateness. This would need to include the balance of cognitive and affective dimensions which would need to be mutually reinforcing through study and commemoration<sup>24</sup>. This approach would include additional exposure throughout the year. The visitors, visits, library books and discussions in class served to demonstrate that the subject had already been present in the school in realms outside of the paradigm. These irregular and sporadic manifestations illustrated the arbitrary nature that also characterized the paradigm. Yet these opportunities could be integrated into a more cohesive structure for a



systematic and richer representation that is planned and focused rather than random and isolated.

## H. THE TIME FACTOR

A central problem closely related to the paradigm, but also existing outside of it and cutting across the commonplaces, was the limited time available for preparation, commemoration and study. This was shown to be largely as a result of the structure of the Jewish calendar with the Holocaust memorial day falling between two major Jewish festivals, and often within days of the beginning of the new school term. The commemoration would necessarily have to remain fixed in that particular week in accordance with the school's adherence to the Jewish calendar in its curriculum and ethos. Thus to address the problem of insufficient time, the formal Jewish Studies curriculum would need to enhance its use of all available time through a well-structured, graded, spiral curriculum. Through a cumulative process it would need to build and expand in a way that would capitalize on the allocation of time in each year.

A well planned integration of the formal studies about the Holocaust with the commemoration ceremonies and activities, would maximise and encourage mutual reinforcement of each of these aspects. The inclusion of the themes of formal study into the ceremony would encourage the bridging of these two complementary dimensions. Another means of enhancing this consolidation would be the integration of the subject into the wider field of Jewish Studies. This could be done by teaching pupils to understand the destruction in the Holocaust in relation to an appreciation of their homes, school and community.

These steps would not alter the effects of the isolated intensity of the focus and would serve to exacerbate what was previously referred to as 'an injection syndrome'. To alleviate this intensity at the time of *Yom HaShoah* a second day of focus could be instituted. Unlike *Yom HaShoah* which is dictated by Jewish practise, this day could be chosen according to the pedagogic requirements and the dictates of the case study. The day would need to be intrinsic to the subject and would have to be sufficiently distanced in the calendar from the main focus on *Yom HaShoah*<sup>25</sup>. Such a day would also need to be unencumbered by other festivals or major school events. Given these

requirements an appropriate day to commemorate would be *Kristallnacht* on the 9-10th November. This day falls six months prior to *Yom HaShoah* and falls approximately midway between the festival of *Succoth* and *Chanukah* which are two months apart<sup>26</sup>. The unrelenting tragedy introduced by this commemoration would be broken because a month later there are the triumphant celebrations of the festival of *Chanukah* and the *Maccabis* much in the same way as *Yom Ha'Atzmaut* - Israel's Independence Day follows *Yom HaShoah*. Following *Chanukah* are the festivals of Purim, and Passover a month thereafter, creating large spans of time before the pupils are again required to focus on *Yom HaShoah* (which falls after Passover).

*Kristallnacht*, most commonly translated as 'The Night of the Broken Glass' is significant for its content - as the night of the destruction of synagogues, homes and businesses in Germany in 1938<sup>27</sup>. It was the last major pogrom in European history prior to the Holocaust but also came to be regarded as the first major '*aktion*' of the Holocaust. From a historical and conceptual point of view it serves to link the history of anti-Jewish persecution in Europe with the Holocaust of World War II.

The choice of *Kristallnacht* would also be suitable from a psychological point of view because it focuses on the destruction of buildings, businesses and community rather than on the destruction of people<sup>28</sup>. Furthermore, the metaphor of the broken crystal/glass although originally coined by the Nazis themselves<sup>29</sup>, resonates in Jewish tradition. The powerful image of shattered glass is intrinsic to the event but also recalls the Jewish ritual of breaking glass as a symbol of remembering the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem<sup>30</sup>.

*Kristallnacht* had previously been commemorated on its fiftieth anniversary, and in some Jewish communities it continued to be marked annually. In seeking alternatives, other options exist as suggested in the literature on the subject. Dates such as V.E. Day; Anne Frank's birthday; or the dates of the liberation of camps, but these either do not convey the essence of the tragedy of the Holocaust, or they are too exclusive in content. This exclusivity was also true of days most closely related to the South African Jewish community such as the day of commemoration of the transportation of the Jews of Rhodes on 23rd July (Franco 1994:68), or the particular days of the

destruction of the individual Lithuanian communities. *Kristallnacht*, though it only occurred in Germany and Austria, is more inclusive because it was the historical precursor of the Holocaust across the whole of Europe.

The need for a second point of focus for study and commemoration would be well served by the commemoration of *Kristallnacht* - from the historical, psychological, educational and curricular perspectives. This also applied to the South African setting because in terms of the school year and the general curriculum, this date precedes the activities associated with the end of the school year such as testing, school concerts, prize-givings and year-end parties.

## I. INTEGRATION

Having considered the integration of study and commemoration, and the possibility of extending these to a second day, the potential for different levels of integration required investigation. For example integration could expand the focus on the subject into other areas of the Jewish Studies curriculum, and the general curriculum.

Teachers in the case study expressed consensus over the location of the Holocaust in Jewish Studies, however, there were indicators of integration into the general curriculum in what the principal of Herzlia Weizmann regarded as 'the ideal way to approach the subject' (Interview 4: Principal).

Integration would be easier to realize in some areas; thus the head of the Hebrew department expressed enthusiasm for integrating Holocaust stories into the graded Hebrew readers which would not only convey a story, but would include Hebrew language and vocabulary enrichment.

I think it is very important to bring in stories of this connection  
(Interview 18: Head of Hebrew).

In the formal curricula of English, Guidance, and History there were existing precedents of integration which could be expanded upon. In the informal curriculum the library and especially Holocaust literature would serve as a meaningful expansion of the child's knowledge of the subject. If a second commemoration day was instituted in the schools, the formal and informal curricula would be encouraged to explore further opportunities for integration. It could also be introduced during the

year, especially in the informal dimension through visitors, exhibitions and visits, and through the exposure of pupils as individuals and groups to children's Holocaust literature. Such opportunities were already in evidence in the case study and though not all lend themselves to advanced planning, teachers could be encouraged to seek more opportunities for such exposure.

The call for greater integration into the curriculum should also be tempered by such caution. Karen Shawn recognizes this so that despite her arguing for what she terms an 'inclusive approach' she warns:

The power and the worth of the of the inclusive approach is diminished if it is overused. We don't want students to wonder - 'What did the Jews in the Shoah do?' on a regular basis (Shawn: 1993).

For this reason she rejects the introduction of a Holocaust dimension to every aspect of the Jewish life cycle or festivals as advocated by Golan (1982) and by Poupko (1980)<sup>31</sup>. Caution is therefore necessary because repeated references at every opportunity and uncoordinated integration could lead to overexposure resulting in indifference and despondency, and the alienation and paranoia associated with the lachrymose perspective of history. In contrast integration carried out with sensitivity could serve to counterbalance the limitation of lesson time and enrich the exposure. This integration could be advanced outside of the formal and informal curricula and could also take place beyond the school in the child's home and wider milieu.

## J. THE HOME AND RITUALS

The foremost influences in the immediate milieu are the parents and the home of the pupils. Earlier suggestions for encouraging increased parental involvement included workshops, newsletters and guidelines. These aimed not only at extending pupils involvement and co-opting parents into the process, but also serve to integrate the home and the school through the expression of shared communal values in both spheres.

At the centre of this integrated process lies the very means of achieving it, namely ritual. Rituals act as both a process and a product, and consists of rites and symbols

that are concrete expressions of beliefs in a value system. In ethnic education symbols and rituals along with national myths, play an important role in sustaining collective memory, inculcating a sense of identity, and socializing the child into the ethos of the ethnic group. Judaism is particularly rich in symbols and rituals most of which evolved in the ancient world with various adaptation and development occurring in later periods<sup>32</sup>. In sharp contrast, the relatively recent occurrence of the Holocaust has yet to be crystallized into a standardized pattern of ritual and commemoration.

The answer [about its observance] is that we really do not know yet, we are still too close to the event for the task of sacralizing it (Greenberg, B. 1983:445).

Although many rituals and customs exist for commemorating tragedies, the unprecedented event of the Holocaust compounds the difficulty in finding appropriate rituals and symbols and hence Irving Greenberg's reference to a 'shattered paradigm' (Greenberg, I. 1988:321). Greenberg illustrates the difficulties of finding appropriate rituals by pointing to attempts to select a commemoration date; the failure of applying the classical models of commemoration in which for example historical events are symbolically re-enacted; the problem of creating a suitable *Menorah*-candelabra; the possibility of a Holocaust scroll; vigils; and the possibility of instituting a day of fasting. Others have similarly called for new innovations and creating symbols and rituals. Noah Golinkin from amongst a host of suggestions, recommends the planting and plucking of six yellow tulips and the distribution of yellow memorial candles (Golinkin 1989).

As in the case of integration there are advocates of excess in ritualization. Yehiel Poupko who called for marking every Jewish holiday and ritual with 'the lash of the Holocaust', (Poupko 1980:169) recommends that yellow stars be affixed to prayer shawls and that every Jew has an obligation to make a pilgrimage to Auschwitz. He also intentionally contradicts rabbinical ruling against fasting on the Sabbath by calling for a day of fasting on the Sabbath following the memorial day (Poupko 1980:170). Excesses such as these, and the assailing of Jewish law are unlikely to gain support, yet they do demonstrate an awareness of the creative opportunity. This could be

welcomed as part of formal studies in the school where pupils could be encouraged to create their own symbols and rituals - showing due respect for *Halachik* - religious law, but aware of their own role and involvement in the wider quest and in the evolutionary process of creating suitable rituals.

The many different levels and forms of integration, whether in Jewish Studies, across the school curriculum, and within the home, all promote a more holistic approach to teaching the subject. Such an approach brings together what Barnes referred to as 'school knowledge' and 'real knowledge'. This integrative process could also have consequences for the inner world of the child by aiding the internalization of the subject and its lessons in terms of the child's religio-ethnic identity and in terms of the ethics and behaviour of the child in a personal and in a universal sense.

## TRANSLATING SUBJECT MATTER INTO CURRICULUM - A PROPOSAL

Emerging from the conclusions drawn in the analysis of the case study and from the results of the deliberation process, curriculum recommendations can now be made. These establish the guidelines and suggest practical implementation for curricula development for Herzlia Weizmann and its sister primary schools.

### A. A RATIONALE FOR TEACHING THE HOLOCAUST AT HERZLIA WEIZMANN SCHOOL

The Holocaust as one of the formative events in contemporary Jewish existence, needs to be addressed in Jewish education, especially when such education is designed to nurture Jewish collective identity. The centrality of the subject, and its influence on the religio-ethnic identity of the South African Jewish community therefore determines the approach, content and method of teaching the subject in the school.

In addition to this intrinsic motivation from within the communal ethos, the external pressures of the exposure and impact of the media upon the student necessitate the study of the subject even at the youngest age of the primary school. A principled approach is therefore required which has clearly defined parameters and that is age-appropriate, taking into account the sensitive and difficult nature of this particular subject.

### B. OUTCOMES

The recommended outcomes respond to the varied requirements and aspirations of the school and are therefore not necessarily hierarchical. Recommended outcomes include the following aims:

1. Memorializing the victims. To remember the dead in accordance with religious and national tradition through the dual means of study and commemoration. And to honour those who resisted.
2. Fostering understanding of the subject - despite the overriding

incomprehensibility.

3. Preparing and introducing the child to the subject. This involves breaking any pre-existing taboos and allaying undue anxiety or obsessions, and especially assisting the pupil to cope with the subject when confronted by it in the media.
4. Assisting pupils in appreciating the place of the Holocaust in their religio-ethnic identity. This aims at strengthening pupils' commitment to the lessons conveyed and to encourage active involvement in the Jewish community and its continuity.
5. Internalizing the lessons on a national, universal and personal level. To identify and internalize not only the particularistic national dimension but to also recognize universal values and direct personal relevance that will promote ethical behaviour and respect for individual worth and for human rights. The personal ethnic, rational and universal dimensions are united in this goal which should include recognition that these lessons have special resonance for the South African context.
6. Teaching about the subject through suitable content and methods. Methods and content should be age appropriate and should respond to the cognitive and emotional development of the child through a graded spiral curriculum.
7. Laying the foundation for further study and commemoration in the Middle and High School. Though the emphasis in the primary school lies in the emotive and affective domain, the cognitive dimension should be nurtured through the cultivation of critical thinking. Such expansion should not only be implied, but should be manifest in the ever widening sophistication that opens the way for historical, literary, philosophical and theological approaches to the subject.

### C. THE APPROACH

In the face of the incomprehensibility of the subject, the teacher's approach should be an honest and humble one in which the sense of incomprehensibility is shared with the pupils. Acting as a role model, the teachers - by casting themselves as learners, are



legitimately and authentically able to convey personal difficulties with the subject and the inevitable lack of answers. This approach would encourage discussion and establish a joint pursuit that re-enforces the sharedness of communal identity. It also opens the way for nurturing an atmosphere conducive to learning and to the internalization of the subject through the pupils active involvement.

Although rooted in history, the subject should not be approached as purely a historical study, in a reductionist or a simplistic fashion. But any lack of accuracy or historical integrity would give credit to the accusations of the deniers of the Holocaust. Similarly children's literature and especially fiction set in the Holocaust, should be explained and contextualized in order not to confuse the pupil. A sense of the complexities of the subject should be conveyed introducing pupils to differing interpretations. This would not only open the way for ongoing study and insights, but would also assuage the pupils tendency to judge the victims and to seek simplistic explanations. For this purpose the approach should not only include identification with the victims but also with the dilemmas faced by the bystanders and by those who resisted. The pupils thereby become engaged in grappling with existential questions in a highly personal way that will challenge the students' sense of responsibility for their own actions while at the same time giving an appreciation of the complexities involved.

The educator should be ready to modify the approach in response to the pupils who may express anxiety and fear. This is especially important if a culture of anti-semitism permeates the environment and the child feels threatened by the subject. To further enhance the child-centredness of the approach the teacher should ascertain the extent of the child's knowledge prior to engaging the pupil in the subject. The pupils' responses would offer a gauge and reveal the level of readiness to the teacher who would respond accordingly. The approach to the selection of the content would best be served by being thematic and focusing on topics that are life-affirming and to which the pupil can relate. Thematic study as was commonly practised at Herzlia Weizmann gives focus to the exposure and it would also serve to anchor the subject in each successive standard and ensure thematic diversity and development.

The recommended approach is integrative - not only to maximise opportunities for exposure and consolidation but to also locate the subject within a global perspective that touches many dimensions of the child's life. In so doing it would re-enforce its significance for the child beyond the isolated school experience of lessons and ceremonies.

Integration options manifest themselves in multiple opportunities such as the integration of study and commemoration; integration of the cognitive and affective levels; integration in Jewish Studies and in Hebrew and General Studies. There is also the integration of the media of video, film and news - with the content of classroom teaching. The liaison and the involvement of parents encourages the integration of home and school; and integration occurs at the level of school and community through the involvement in communal ceremonies and exhibitions. The numerous opportunities for promoting integration however necessitates a caveat that cautions against over-exposing pupils and emphasizes the need to contain the exposure by focusing on selected themes in each standard, and by establishing a structured, graded curriculum.

#### D. CONTENT

The suggested content for a Holocaust curriculum for primary school pupils should focus on factual stories of heroism, of fighters and of Righteous Gentiles. Acts of physical and spiritual resistance are life-affirming and offer a positive perspective that is appropriate to the age of the pupils. These should be set against the overarching context of the tragedy in order to prevent a distorted view of the Holocaust. The selected themes would be developed through the stories and the biographies with each standard expanding on the previous year's studies. The study should also be accompanied by an expanding vocabulary and terminology that encourages increased sophistication in each successive year in the curriculum.

The pertinent terminology would need to include abstract concepts central to the subject but which present difficulties for the primary school child. The teacher should therefore consider ways of dealing with such difficulties of which typical examples are

the following:

1. The abstract figure of six million: This would need to be personalized through the stories and biographies of individuals, moving from the individual to the general. These stories need not necessarily be stories only of children since the pupil identifies with the individual in any well told story. Though the stories are often self-contained they also become representative of the millions and of the wider tragedy.
2. Chronology: Pupils of primary school age have a limited sense of chronology. Both temporal and spatial distance can act as a buffer protecting the child and removing the tragedy from the child's immediate world. A sense of time is also important for recounting the stories and for developing the context. A sense of history and geography could be introduced in an incidental fashion until the child in the upper primary school develops the skills and understanding to cope with the sophistication of temporal and spatial abstractions.
3. Mourning and Death: Introducing loss, death and mourning should draw on the child's understanding and experience in order not to alienate the child or to create a defensive barrier of indifference. The sense of loss for the community could be conveyed by explaining the destruction in terms of the child's own Jewish community, and by showing how Nazi orders negated Judaic values such as the sanctity of life and respect for the human body and for property.
4. Theodicy: The concepts of evil and theodicy are additional abstractions which teachers may wish to defer until the pupil reaches the Middle and High School. But these concepts even if couched in simplistic terms will arise in the questions asked by even the youngest pupils. The child's questions would require sensitive answers that would satisfy the pupil without labouring the issue, and would indicate that such questions are legitimate and would receive more elaborate attention at a later stage.

By introducing such terminology along with appropriate themes, the curriculum is a graded, cumulative and spiral one that responds to the cognitive and affective development. This would sustain pupils' interest, identification and involvement with

the subject. This would also develop into an introduction to elements of historical analysis such as the use of sources, media interpretation and increased critical thought. Paralleling the study of the events, pupils would also become engaged in understanding the process of commemoration itself and the role of rituals and symbols.

In this way the affective dimension is well served not only by the lessons and their content, but also by the annual commemorative ceremonies which offer mutual reinforcement of the formal lessons. All these varying aspects and elements would coalesce giving the pupil a solid foundation upon which to build further understanding.

The proposed schema (Figure 1) suggests a comprehensive curriculum outline for Holocaust education at Herzlia Weizmann. While it does not purport to answer the requirements of other schools and systems, it offers a structure which could be adopted according to local needs. Based on structural requirements, the schema focuses on topics and themes, rather than specific materials which would need further attention and design for classroom implementation.

The thematic focus incorporates cognitive and affective development which also leads directly to the school's commemoration. A South African dimension affords the opportunity to include the child's immediate local milieu. This begins with an appreciation of the school and community as a means of highlighting the tragedy and destruction of European Jewish communities. In the senior classes the wider South African context is introduced with topics such as racism, Apartheid, Anti-semitism in South Africa and Neo-Nazism. Opportunities for integration and for enrichment are suggested but they have intentionally been left open and tentative to encourage their development.

The schema suggests numerous books and videos for the classroom, but it does not include recommendations for individual pupils who would receive personal guidance from the teacher and the librarian, and in accordance with specific interests and levels of maturity. The schema does take into account a global perspective and recognizes

post-primary school development. In this way the primary school curriculum forms the basis and is an intrinsic part of the general development of the subject in the Herzlia system.

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**FIGURE 1(A) SCHEMA FOR HOLOCAUST EDUCATION AT HERZLIA WEIZMANN (i)**

Grade	Sub A – Grade 1	Sub B – Grade 2
THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT: CONCEPTS AND VALUES.	Memorialization Introduction – The memorial Candle	Commemoration Acts of Commemoration -memorial candles -standing in silence
CONTENT: COGNITIVE AND EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT	1)Review pupils previous knowledge. 2)Content: -draw the memorial candles 3)Picture book reader: <u>The Number on Grandfather's Arm.</u> *	1)Review pupils previous knowledge. 2)Content: -draw and label the memorial candles 3)Story book: <u>The Tattooed Torah</u> *
SOUTH AFRICAN DIMENSION	Identity :Difference and Similarities Introduction to Identity -being Jewish in South Africa -Jewish people and their non-Jewish neighbours	Identity :Religious/ethnic Socialization -Herzlia-Weizmann school as an example of a Jewish school in South Africa -contrast segregated schooling in Nazi Germany, and the destruction of Jewish Schools
ACTS OF COMMEMORATION	Brief commemoration :reference at the daily morning prayer service. The lighting of Six memorial candles and 30 seconds of silence	
CURRICULAR INTEGRATION	Class teachers accompany their Classes to the schools memorial exhibit. Contemplation of the memorial candles	
ENRICHMENT AND PUPIL EXTENSION	Discussion leading from the exhibits and displays	

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**FIGURE 1(A) SCHEMA FOR HOLOCAUST EDUCATION AT HERZLIA WEIZMANN (ii)**

Grade	Std 1 – Grade 3	Std 2 – Grade 4
THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT: CONCEPTS AND VALUES.	1) Evil and Goodness The subversion of Goodness 2) Developing key vocabulary for Holocaust Education	1) "Chasidai Ha'umot" (The Righteous Gentile) Rescuers and Acts of Altruism 2) "Ahavat Habriyot" Personal commitment to the brotherhood of humanity
CONTENT: COGNITIVE AND EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT	1) Review Previous knowledge 2) Vocabulary and terminology - Shoah; Holocaust; Resistance; Germany; Hitler, Nazi; Hope; Anti- Semitism; survival. 3) Picture Book: <u>Rose Blanche*</u> Story Book: <u>Promise of a New Spring*</u>	1) Review of previous knowledge and vocabulary 2) Righteous Gentiles Examples - Oscar Schindler - Raoul Wallenberg - The rescue of Danish Jews in 1943
SOUTH AFRICAN DIMENSION	Identity: The South African Jewish Community - the structure and institutions of communities, building a community. - Contrast: Nazi destruction of a community	Racial Hatred - Racism in South Africa - Apartheid and its opponents (introduction)
ACTS OF COMMEMORATION	Ceremony on Yom Hashoah Ve'HaGvurah Memorial Day - The commemoration should incorporate the themes and issues of the formal lessons in Jewish Studies. - Content to include poems, prayers and pupils' personal writing on the subject	
CURRICULAR INTEGRATION	Class teacher leads visit to the memorial exhibit and candles. Discussion - class teachers to be introduced to suitable books in the school library for classes.	Fiction and Documentary in filmatic presentation. Example – The story of Oscar Schindler Compare clips of Spielberg's <u>Schindler's List</u> and BBC Documentary <u>Schindler</u>
ENRICHMENT AND PUPIL EXTENSION	Songs of Faith and hope - "Ani Ma'amin" (I believe) - "Kol Ha'olam Gesher" (The world is a narrow bridge)	Additional Readers Examples: <u>Number the Stars*</u> Lois Lowry <u>No way out (film)</u>





**FIGURE 1(A) SCHEMA FOR HOLOCAUST EDUCATION AT HERZLIA WEIZMANN (iii)**

Grade	Std 3 – Grade 5	Std 4– Grade 6
THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT: CONCEPTS AND VALUES.	1) Social/personal responsibility and action – Acts of Heroism 2) "Gvurah" – Jewish resistance in the Holocaust	1) Understanding "Commemoration" and the value of commemoration. 2) Perspectives – "Holocaust" versus "Shoah" 3) Commemorating/remembering the victims Example – Anne Frank.
CONTENT: COGNITIVE AND EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT	1) Review of previous knowledge -vocabulary, terminology -Righteous Gentiles -Racism 2) Physical Resistance examples – Channah Senesh -Warsaw Ghetto Revolt 3) Spiritual Resistance example – Janus Korczak 4) The Anthem of the Partisans	1) Preview of Pupils Knowledge of previous Grades (Cumulative) 2) Shoah and Holocaust 3) Commemoration as Concept -customs and Rituals 4) The Victims Example – Anne Frank as victim -The Diary of Anne Frank* -Her demise at Bergen Belsen
SOUTH AFRICAN DIMENSION	Racial Hatred and Segregation -Anti-semitism as racial prejudice -manifestations of antisemitism in South Africa -segregation and apartheid -The oppression of the Boers, Concentration camps in South Africa's Anglo Boer War.	Racism in South Africa – Review -Nazism in SA in 1930's – 1940's -Neo Nazism and Holocaust Denial -The New South African constitution and the concepts of freedom of speech and protection of minorities
ACTS OF COMMEMORATION		Std 4 Pupils to lead (and devise) the memorial ceremony
CURRICULAR INTEGRATION	Media Education Example – The Biography of Chana Senesh Filmatic Presentation in <u>Hannah's War</u> <u>Korczak</u> biography and Film Hebrew – Poems of Channah Senesh. Songs of the Partisans	Media Interpretation Example – comparisons of documentation and Documentaries -reading photographs -literature -the autobiography; the biography; the diary; the memoir; and fiction.
ENRICHMENT AND PUPIL EXTENSION	Songs and Art of the Ghettos Example – Songs of Vilna Childrens Art of Terezin Readers – <u>Warsaw Diary</u> * – Kitty Berg Stories by Janus Korczak Video <u>The Wall</u>	Additional Books and Films -Legacy of Anne Frank (film) -Righteous Gentiles (film) -The Attic (Video) -Young Moshe's Diary* – Moshe Flinker (Diary Comparison with Anne Frank)



**B. SCHEMA – NOTES (iv)**

1. Discussion – Discussion should be encouraged at every level
2. Ceremonies
  - Lower (Junior) Primary Sub A and Sub B – A short reference during morning prayers.
  - Upper (Senior) Primary – Std 1 – Std 4 – A full commemoration Ceremony
3. Exhibitions – School displays and communal exhibitions vary each year
4. Extension options – The commemoration of Kristallnacht would offer the option of introducing themes for successive years.
5. Post Primary School Development
  - (a) Annual memorial ceremonies on Yom Hashoa at the schools and in the Jewish community.
  - (b) Exposing pupils to Holocaust literature
  - (c) Family visits to Israel could include Yad Vashem, the Kibbutz of the Ghetto Fighters and similar memorials.

\* Recommended readers, picture books and story books are listed in the bibliography and in Appendix E : Children's Literature.



## E. METHOD

Having established the desired outcomes, the approach, and the content, certain methods emerge as being particularly suited to the implementation of these guidelines. The methods draw on the existing materials in the case study and form the numerous programmes that were analysed, but they go further by systematizing the entire structure to create a graded curriculum. The structure also incorporates media, technology and literature - and the methods and techniques appropriate to these fields. For example for younger children the field of literature offers methods already evident in the case study such as shared reading, the 'reading' of picture books and story telling. For the older students the curriculum addresses the interpretative styles of the media.

The *Chaggim* Paradigm remains firmly entrenched and central to Jewish education at the Primary School level. It serves as both the content and the method for study and commemoration, however, its full potential was explored in order to enhance its effectiveness. Recognition of limitations such as time constraints and the 'injection effect' require the employing of methods that counter their debilitating influences. One recommendation was the observance of a second annual memorial day, or at the least a day to study and focus on the subject on the anniversary of *Kristallnacht* in November of each year.

Encouraging pupils to make their own contributions to the creation of rituals would serve to actively engage them in the subject. While study itself is a form of commemoration, rituals could be explored to enhance identity and communal solidarity. Experimentation with symbols and rituals should however be appropriate and sensitive to the subject and to Jewish tradition. In contrast simulations and gimmicks that seek easy methods to ingratiate or shock pupils, should be avoided since they trivialize and undermine the significance of the subject and the educational intentions.

Another method suggested by the integrative approach goes beyond viewing the Holocaust in this holistic way, and considers methods of integrating the Holocaust

into other subject at school, and into the pupils' home and community. Methods recommended to achieve this are the bringing of the media such as videos, news articles and photographs, into the classroom where pupils analyse them and develop skills of interpretation. This would bridge the classroom studies with the wider milieu while also helping pupils to prevent the media dictating to them the meaning of the subject.

For all these integrative methods and regular reference to the Holocaust as a point of reference, the subject should not be allowed to dominate Jewish education. The subject, lachrymose as it is in nature, should not become a centre piece of such education. It should be contextualized as one of many components of Jewish Studies and the wider curriculum which celebrates Jewish identity and Judaism. This would offer perspective and containment which would alleviate any overwhelming sense of tragedy and anxiety, and would secure positive affirmation of Jewish identity.

Discussion was identified as an important means for pupils to express their curiosity and their anxieties about the subject. The teacher should guide discussion and be mindful to measure pupils interest by the class rather than by the individual pupil. The single pupil may dominate the discussion and lead the class into discussions for which they are not yet ready. The teacher should therefore be ready to curtail this tendency by deferring it to a discussion with the individual.

To prepare teachers for their roles as Holocaust educators, and to keep the general staff informed, seminars and workshops would be necessary<sup>33</sup>. These would need to encompass the following issues:

1. Exploration of the teacher's own emotions, responses and difficulties with the subject.
2. Enrichment of teacher's knowledge about the subject, incorporating the areas of history, literature, theology and historiography; and also cinematic and media treatment of the subject.
3. Guidance in pedagogic issues such as outcomes, approach, content and method. These would establish the framework and the parameters for the primary school and would contextualize it in the global overview of

Holocaust education in the Herzlia system.

4. Exploration of the important fields of children's literature and available textbooks and programmes on the subject.
5. Introducing resources such as survivors, veteran soldiers and Righteous Gentiles as guests or in the form of video and written testimonies.
6. The cataloguing of materials already existent in each school as a first step towards establishing a resource centre/area for Holocaust education.
7. Exposure to the work and materials available in resource centres both local and international.
8. Teaching training in promoting and developing pupils' skills in media education and interpretation.
9. Exploring options for appropriate and multi-level integration.



## CONCLUSION

This chapter has drawn together the ideas, issues and experiences of the case study and of the teaching of the subject in order to deliberate over these. The deliberations arrived at guidelines for a defensible curriculum for teaching the Holocaust in the Jewish day school of Herzlia Weizmann in Cape Town. The recommendations that emerged from the deliberation were then systematized and structured into a proposal with guidelines for implementation.

The act of implementation in the given field, in its turn offers the test of the method, content and approach. Responses in the field should be monitored and evaluated in an ongoing process of deliberation. This would confirm the selection of appropriate and suitable materials and resources which may eventually crystallize into a kit or textbook designed for a comprehensive curriculum that answers the specific needs of the case study.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE CASE STUDY AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

The case study of Holocaust education at Herzlia Primary School supported Barry Chazan's indictment of Jewish education in his book The Language of Jewish Education (1978).

Contemporary Jewish education has all too often developed in a blind and overly pragmatic fashion, charting its course on the basis of immediate responses to pressing crises rather than on the basis of plan or thought (Chazan 1978:122).

The subject of the Holocaust, as with his comments on the subject 'Israel', was being taught without a clear understanding of its significance or its role in Jewish education, and was being reduced to what Chazan had referred to as an 'inoperative concept' (Chazan 1978:97).

This study investigated guidelines for translating the subject of the Holocaust into 'subject matter for education' and to do so for a specific primary school setting. The importance of the sui generis nature of each setting was recognized and therefore a detailed case study of Herzlia Weizmann School was carried out. The existent teaching of the subject was investigated and both specific and general problems in Holocaust education were considered. Applying Joseph Schwab's theory of curricular innovation, these findings were brought to the deliberation process in order to arrive at the guidelines - the product of the study, which served as the basis for developing a defensible curriculum for Holocaust education in the school.

Despite the specificity of the subject matter and the uniqueness of the case study, the process and method employed for curriculum innovation and development held the promise and potential of wider application. By analysing each of the commonplaces and the relationship between them, the case setting can be better understood. To achieve this 'unpacking' of the case study, qualitative research methods were employed to produce a 'thick description' of the setting. The ethnographic approach using multiple methods and their triangulation served to identify details, different

nuances and the manifestations of the subject in the case setting. This established a basis for critical evaluation and analysis while simultaneously generating deliberation both as a process and as a product of this interaction.

As was evident in the case study, the study of the milieu in all its strata is well served by the ethnographic approach which encourages both description and analysis. The ethnography and the deliberations, however, suffered from a limitation inherent in both these endeavours and which ethnographers refer to as 'the ethnographic present'. The limitation lies in defining a situation at a given moment despite the recognition that society is subject to constant change and development. The product of the study is therefore a frozen moment in an ongoing process. The deliberations would therefore need to continue as the curriculum is prepared for specific classes, and then thereafter in the acts of implementation and evaluation. The final deliberation for the case study, or any such study, would lie in the implementation of the guidelines by the teachers, however this could at best be seen as the closure of a cycle and simultaneously as the beginning of the next cycle of deliberation. It therefore becomes inappropriate to refer to a final product in such a study, but rather an open-ended process of curriculum development which takes the form of repeated cycles of assessment, analysis; implementation; and re-evaluation.

The procedures described above are strongly reminiscent of the cycles of action research (Kemmis and McTaggart 1984)<sup>1</sup>. Action Research emphasizes a pragmatic approach of action, implementation and evaluation. In contrast the approach employed in this study was accompanied from its inception by rigorous analysis of all aspects of the case study and especially the subject matter itself. The innovation and development in this way emerges from a well informed foundation built of detailed observation and analysis which also forms the reference for the cycles of implementation and evaluation.

The importance of considering the community and the wider society in curriculum development was highlighted in this study by addressing the subject of the Holocaust with its deep roots in the Jewish community's self definition and its ethnic education. Ethnic education in particular had to necessarily take into account the unique

characteristics and specific requirements of the ethnic group. For this reason the method of development would find ready application in other areas of Jewish education such as curricula for Festivals and Prayers, but could be applied equally well to curricula development for any ethnic group. It is also this feature of going beyond the school into the wider strata of community and milieu which makes it different to the narrower, microcosmic approach of school-based curriculum development. Although ethnic education places particular emphasis on the milieu, any curricula development would need to consider its integral role.

The application of curriculum for differing settings, is similarly facilitated by revealing the motivation and origins of curricula recommendations and by revealing the underlying assumptions. In this way both the content and method lend themselves to adaptation and to the process of being ready-ed for application in other contexts. In terms of Holocaust education this study serves as an example of what can be gained from a particular case study. And if such case studies were carried out in a variety of settings the cumulative products would be a bank of knowledge that would facilitate comparative study and new insights, and holds the promise of a well developed field of Holocaust education.

The case study of the specific subject matter of the Holocaust also presented unique difficulties not generally present in curricula development of other less problematic subjects. The method and approach employed in the case study presented an even greater challenge because of the requirements of sensitivity and caution with the subject. Another difficulty lay in the perceptions and interpretations of the Holocaust which are neither static nor standardized but in a state of constant evolution. This necessitated the open-ended approach which could accommodate such changes and variations. This not only had implications for the subject but also had ramifications for its interaction with the other commonplaces of pupil, teacher and milieu. Despite these particular difficulties in any given setting the commonplaces would be subject to their own such developments and these would impact upon the relationship between them as was reflected in the matrix of the deliberation process.

In terms of the South African setting of the 1990s, the milieu had further importance

because of the rapidly evolving national ethos after the Apartheid era, and the new found respect accorded to diverse minority groups recorded in the new constitution. The case study demonstrates how ethnic education could be encouraged to serve the minority groups while also fulfilling a national need. It goes even further in the case of Holocaust education by showing how particularistic values can potentially bolster universal values and contribute to the wider South African context through its focus on shared individual and universal values. The subject of the Holocaust itself illustrates the results of wanton disregard for minorities and for humanitarian values. The spirit of conciliation is also encapsulated in the process of deliberation and in the results of this process. Herein lies lessons teaching the respect for alternatives, the consideration of options, the sharing of expertise and the promotion of a forum for encouraging negotiation. This approach promotes a wide and informed consensus which is particularly pertinent in contemporary South Africa which honours diversity in the process of building a future through mutual co-operation.

Having established the need for an ongoing process of curriculum development, the study has also highlighted the pivotal role of the teacher in this process. The teacher not only functions as one of the four interacting commonplaces of education, but is the screen for guiding implementation and assessment of curricula innovation. The teacher from the outset acts as a 'gatekeeper' to the entire process. The study has shown that the teacher as a central participant is uniquely placed to contribute to curriculum development as both a reflective practitioner and as a researcher.

The view of the teacher as not only the audience for research but also as the researcher of education and of their own work, has received increasing interest. Education, and teaching - especially in the primary school, requires an eclectic and holistic approach of which description and anecdote are typical facets used by teachers. The significance of this lies in the congruence between the nature of qualitative research such as ethnography and these typical facets of the teacher's profession.

Teachers are primed through classroom experience to be receptive to ethnography ... and its ability to tap into the culture of teaching in a way that positivism, quantitative and experimental styles of research

cannot (Denscombe 1995).

Through a disciplined approach to reading research findings, and carrying out research, and the sharpening of the skills required for these, education would benefit from teachers increased involvement in decision making and particularly in curriculum development.

The teacher as demonstrated in this study therefore has a three-fold role - as commonplace of education, as a researcher, and as a curriculum designer. The teacher holds the potential to act as the bridge between the commonplaces; the link between the past and present situation; and previous and ongoing research; and also future implementation of innovations. At the same time the teacher's role and professional skills, if guided and developed, point to the teacher as the best suited curriculum co-ordinator. It is also the teacher who will ensure the development of meaningful and creative curricula that brings subject matter, however problematic and difficult as in the case of the Holocaust, to the status of "operative concept". And it is the teacher who will bring to fruition a defensible curriculum that successfully translates subject into subject matter for education.



END QUOTATION:

פרקי אבות ב:כ"א

רבי טרפון היה אומר:  
לא עליך המלאכה לגמור,  
ולא אתה בן חרין להבטל מצבה.

Rabbi Tarfon taught:

It is not for you to complete the work  
but neither are you free to desist from it.

Ethics of The Fathers

Chapter 2 : Mishnah 21<sup>2</sup>



University of Cape Town

# NOTES

## CHAPTER ONE

1. Terms such as 'uniqueness' and 'intention' form part of the many debates amongst historians of the Holocaust period. For example, the debate about singularity versus relativism centres on 'degrees' of uniqueness. Similarly the debate over 'intentionalism versus functionalism' focuses on the exact timing of the decision to annihilate the Jews. These debates are largely of academic interest and did not impinge on the case study.

Peter Baldwin offers a synopsis of the debates in his book, Reworking the Past - Hitler, the Holocaust and the historians debate (1990).

2. Raphael Lemkin first used the term 'Genocide' in 1943 when he referred to the Nazi policy in occupied Europe which involved the extermination of nations and ethnic groups. This was understood to include synchronized attacks on different aspects of the lives of the captive peoples such as political, economic and cultural dimensions. This was not reserved for Jews and other ethnic and racial groups were attacked in this manner (Bauer 1978:34).
3. Alexander Donat titled his study and memoirs The Holocaust Kingdom (1978).
4. These variant names are discussed by Norman Solomon in an article 'Dangers in Centralizing the Holocaust' in Jewish Chronicle 16 April 1993.
5. The Oxford English Dictionary defines the term 'Holocaust' in the following way:
  - (a) A case of large scale destruction especially by fire or nuclear war.
  - (b) The Holocaust - the mass murder of the Jews by the Nazis 1941 - 1945.
  - (c) A sacrifice wholly consumed by fire (M.E.f O.F. holocauste f.L.L.f. G.K. holocauston (as Holo, Kaustos burnt f. Kaio 'burn').Concise Oxford English Dictionary (1995:648).
6. Alice and Roy Eckardt also express reservations about the imprecision of the term Holocaust when compared with a term such as the German '*Judenvernichtung*' (1978:225).  
James Young discusses the problems of the names and how perspectives have determined the metaphors employed to name the event (1988). Further discussions and contrasting views are expressed by Moshe Kohn (1993) and Uriel Tal (1979).
7. The system of camouflage is analysed by Shaul Esh (1963) where he examines terms such as 'resettlement in the East'; 'decontamination showers' and 'the Final Solution'. Nachum Blumenthal also explored the use of euphemisms by the Nazis, he concludes:

Names were not intended merely to camouflage or to deceive the Jewish victims, but in order to maintain the morale of German soldiers and guards, and to divert the attention of the latter from the unpleasantness of their duties (1957).

8. Primo Levi described the 'Lager Jargon':  
The language of the lager was a language apart ... it was *orts- und zeitgebunden* - tied to the place and the time ... Where violence is inflicted on man, it is also inflicted on language (1988:76).
9. A parallel response is found in Jewish theology in the concept of '*Hester Panim*' - the eclipse of God which was explored by Martin Buber. The theologian Richard Rubenstein offers a more extreme position of a permanent eclipse in his arguments about the death of God. As with other post-Holocaust Jewish theologians - Eliezer Berkovitz, Emil Fackenstein, Irving Greenberg and Ignaz Maybaum, biblical models are used to explain their positions. The models include Adam (sin/punishment) : Cain (freewill and murder) : the *Akeda* (binding of Isaac), Job (the suffering servant). Discussions of these positions are found in an article by Pinchas Peli (1983) and in a study of Jewish philosophers by Steven Katz (1975).
10. Adorno is quoted by Leah Hadomi in Encyclopaedia Judaica in her entry 'The Literature of the Holocaust' (1972:880).
11. Dan Pagis, the Hebrew poet has written a powerful poem that demonstrates Wiesel's notion of 'using language in spite of language' (1987:16). Pagis makes a poignant and literally unsuccessful attempt to find a voice to break the silence and to find understanding (Transl. S.D. Ezrahi 1980:112).  
Written in Pencil  
in the sealed boxcar.  
here in this transport  
I am Eve  
With my son Abel  
if you see my elder son  
Cain son of man  
tell him that I
12. The 'other planet' was the term used to describe Auschwitz by Yehiel Dinur, known by the pen-name Ka-Tzetnik, when he gave evidence at the Eichman trial in Jerusalem in 1963 (Fier 1987:219).
13. Under a quotation from La Rochefoucauld, 'History never embraces more than a small part of reality', the historian Lucy Dawidowicz points out that many leading historians of the period of World War II (Geoffrey Barraclough; J.S. Taylor, H.R. Trevor Roper and Allan Bullock et al.) have chosen to marginalize, and some barely mention the Holocaust (1981:31).

14. A collection of original documents of the *Historikerstreit* reflect the cleavage of opinions (Piper: 1993). A synopsis of the main positions in the *Historikerstreit* can be found in an article by Norbert Kampe appropriately titled 'Normalizing the Holocaust: The recent Historians Debate in the Federal Republic of Germany' (Kampe 1987:61-80). A critical analysis of the debates was carried out by Irving Louis Horowitz (1993).
15. Deborah Lipstadt rejects the claims of Holocaust deniers that they are revisionist historians.  

The deniers selection of the name Revisionist to describe themselves is indicative of their basic strategy of deceit and distortion, and of their attempt to portray themselves as legitimate historians engaged in the traditional practice of illuminating the past (Lipstadt 1994:3).

Lipstadt has developed her thesis in her book Denying the Holocaust - The growing Assault on Truth and Memory (1993).
16. Ruth Firer in her analysis of Israeli textbooks on the Holocaust concludes with the same note of caution, the Holocaust cannot be left to the historians' since they project an interpretation based on their perspectives of historical debate rather than on sound pedagogy (1987:212).
17. For this reference I am indebted to Todd Pitcock (1992:78).
18. James Young explained this phenomenon:  

For survivors the historical imperative to remember - *Zachor*, meaning not merely to remember as a self contained activity, but to tell their remembrances, to remember to others what happened ... to make others witness (Young 1988:17).
19. Friedländer elaborated on the ongoing nature of 'the spell':  

The emotional hold Hitler and his movement maintained on many Germans ... and beyond the Reich, the spell [is] a constant preoccupation with Nazism since the end of World War Two and the resurgence of phantasm of the subject of Hitlerism (Friedländer, S. 1986:72).
20. Klein-Halevi added:  

The United States alone boasts over 75 centres, most of them founded in the last fifteen years. And now there are two mega museums [in Washington and Los Angeles] and a groundbreaking ceremony for a third museum [in New York] (Klein-Halevi 1993:28).
21. To appreciate the enormity of this development from suppressed obscurity to high profile exposure, Greenberg offers a telling anecdote that illustrates the emergence of the voices of the survivors, the growing responsiveness of Jewish communities and the wider public, and in her example - the leadership of the country itself. (1983:445). She describes the humble Holocaust

Memorial programme in the heart of a densely Jewish neighbourhood in New York in 1965 which attracted only forty adults. It was addressed by a little known speaker named Elie Wiesel. She compares this with the year 1982 when Wiesel, as a guest of the American President, commemorated Holocaust Memorial Day in the White House alongside the president in a widely televised event. Greenberg stresses the point:

Millions of American citizens remembered the victims along with Wiesel, American citizens who did not even know the word 'Holocaust' just five years earlier (Greenberg, B. 1983:445).

Wiesel received international recognition in 1986 when he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

22. Similarly Monica Bohm Duchon wrote of this in an article titled 'Ways of Seeing the Unseeable' in The Jewish Quarterly (Spring, 1994).  
The contemporary reality of the Holocaust which is not the event itself but the memory of the event - the great distance between then and now, there and here.
23. Young defined 'collected memory' as the aggregate collection of many often competing memories (Young 1993: Preface XI).
24. Young explained his use of the term 'texture of memory':  
Both the physical and the metaphysical qualities of these memorial texts, their tactile and temporal dimensions, are what I called the texture of memory (Young 1993: Preface VIII).
25. A comparison of each country's response and in each field is to be found in the following works:
 

Historical	- Lucy Dawidowicz: <u>The Holocaust and the Historians</u> (1981).
Political	- Judith Miller: <u>One By One, By One - Facing the Holocaust</u> (1991). A study of the responses of the governments of six nations.
Memorial Art	- James E Young: <u>The Texture of Memory</u> (1993). Although in keeping with his central thesis, Young states a preference for approaching each memorial and monument as unique, his study nonetheless is organized around national groupings.
26. The issue of reparations for survivors was one of numerous issues in contemporary German-Jewish/Israeli relations that is analysed by Michael Wolffsohn in his book Eternal Guilt? Forty Years of German-Jewish, Israeli Relations (1993). Besides this form of national atonement there are numerous grassroots and practical endeavours by groups and individuals. For example the maintaining of Jewish religious sites in Germany, and the German Social Action Group '*Aktion Sühnezeichen*' (Operation Sign of Atonement) which was founded in 1958 to atone for Nazi atrocities by sending volunteers to Israel to help survivors (Wolffsohn 1993:149). Sue Fishkoff reported of their

activities in Israel; 'Sign of Atonement', Jerusalem Post (13 August 1994).

27. Increasing dramatically after German unification, racist outbursts against immigrants became regular occurrences in Germany. Despite the depleted number of Jews (40 000), anti-semitic attacks also increased and ironically focused on cemeteries and on Holocaust memorials. The following report by Regina Wosnitza reflected this pattern:  
 The incident in Goppingen [the desecration of the Jewish cemetery] is the latest in a series of anti-semitic attacks which have surged to 937 in the first nine months of 1994. The figure released in a recent government report showed a sharp increase on the previous year when a total of 656 anti-semitic incidences were recorded (Jewish Chronicle, London 6 January 1995).
28. The image of Austria as victim was originally cultivated by both the Allies and the Soviets in order to ensure Austrian neutrality in the Cold War; neither the U.S. nor the Soviet Union wanted to label Austria 'a wartime belligerent' (Young 1993:91). Austria was therefore confident enough to be able to reject any criticism of the appointment of Kurt Waldheim as president despite the revelations of his wartime record in Yugoslavia. There had been a slight shift in position in the 1990s noted during Chancellor Franz Vranitsky's state visit to Israel in 1993. He stated:  
 Austria was not guilty of the crimes committed against the Jews during World War II but did accept 'moral responsibility' for supporting the Nazi regime (Reported in The Jerusalem Post 19 July 1993).
29. This issue was a central theme in 'Vichy France And The Jews' by Michael R Marrus and Robert O Paxton (1981).
30. The relationship between the British and the Holocaust was the subject of Bernard Wasserstein's book, Britain And The Jews of Europe : 1939-45 (1979).
31. A press debate was carried out by Lionel Kochen and John Fox in The Jewish Chronicle (Jan 1990). The question of the Holocaust and the National Curriculum was summarised in an article by Philip Rubinstein and Warren Taylor - 'Teaching About The Holocaust in the National Curriculum' in The British Journal of Holocaust Education; (1992).
32. National Curriculum and GCSE: History, Key stage 3. Case Study Unit - The Era of the Second World War.
33. In the preface to her textbook, Carrie Supple clarified the changed perspective on the significance of the Holocaust:  
 The Holocaust is part of the history of not just these people [victims and perpetrators] nor as many people think, of Jewish History. The Holocaust is part of the history of mankind

(Supple 1993: XIII).

The blurb to the book made the following assertion:

The themes of collaboration, indifference, obedience, etc. make the book a valuable source for Religious Education, Political Science Education, Psychology and Humanities (Supple 1993).

34. The same process of selective memory and appropriation was evident in the treatment of the legendary figure of Janus Korczak. Korczak, the pen-name of Henryk Goldschmidt, was a Polish-Jewish educator and doctor, famous for his children's books and his writings on education, he was the director of a Jewish orphanage in the Warsaw Ghetto. He perished with his charges in Treblinka. He is recognized as a national hero and martyr in Poland where his Jewishness is disregarded. In Israel he is regarded as a Jewish hero who fought for the dignity of his orphans and who embodied '*Kiddush Chayim*' - spiritual resistance. Betty Jean Lifton describes his heroism in a biography of his life and work, titled The King of Children (1989).
35. Simon Herman described the shift of politics, culture and demography: After the Holocaust, the centre of gravity of Jewish life which had been shifting to the American continent and to Israel, moved with tragic decisiveness to these countries (Herman 1977:88).
36. The '*Brichah*' (flight) is the term used to describe the emigration from Europe and the illegal immigration to Israel. Yehuda Bauer described this mass movement of survivor-refugees in his books The Jewish Emergence From Powerlessness (1979) and in Flight and Rescue: Brichah (1970).
37. Michael Wolffsohn rejects the causal relation and point by point refutes what he terms 'the legend - without Hitler no Israel' (Wolffsohn 1993:1-11).
38. In the Gulf War of 1991, the USA prevailed upon Israel to remain passive in the face of Iraqi Scud attacks. The threat of poison gas 'showering' down on a passive Jewish population in make-shift sealed rooms, and the knowledge that the Iraqi arsenal was developed by German engineers, gave rise to a direct identification with the victims of the Holocaust. This was evident in an expression current at that time in Israel - '*Shoah Be-Cheder Atum*' - the threat of a 'Holocaust in a sealed room'. Wolffsohn pointed out that many Germans also saw the connection (Wolffsohn 1993:74). The identification with the victims and with the threat of a Holocaust, exemplifies what Irving Greenberg termed 'Holocaust Anxiety' (Greenberg 1988:269).
39. Liebman and Don-Yehiya defined 'Civil religion' as the ceremonies, myths and creeds which legitimate the social order, unite the population, mobilize the society's members in pursuit of its dominant political goals.  
Civil religion is that which is most holy and sacred in the political culture (Leibman and Don-Yehiya 1983: Preface I - IX).

40. The 'Law of Remembrance of the Shoah and of Heroism' was passed on May 18 1953. Ruth Firer pointed out that the working of the law itself written as it was at the peak of the statism period, reflected the emphasis placed on resistance and heroism. Firer demonstrated that 17 words of the law speak of suffering and extermination, 6 words deal with the humanitarian aspect and 32 words, the vast majority, emphasized armed resistance (Firer 1987:187).
  
41. The name *Yad Vashem* is drawn from the Bible. 'And within my walls a monument and a memorial [*Yad Vashem*], I will give them an everlasting memorial' (Isaiah 56 verse 5). The *Yad Vashem* Memorial is situated on Mount Herzl, a short distance from the national heroes cemetery near central Jerusalem. It is visited by dignitaries and leaders on state visits to Israel. School pupils, exchange students and army recruits all visit the memorial as part of their education programme. *Yad Vashem* is the focus of Israel commemorations which are televised to the nation. In addition to the archival and research halls, it includes a permanent exhibition; special exhibitions; an avenue of trees to honour Righteous Gentiles who rescued Jews during the war; and more recent additions of a Children's Memorial Hall and 'The Valley of the Lost Communities'.
  
42. There are numerous archives, memorials and centres throughout Israel. Each is dedicated to the subject but generally reflects the specific perspective of its builders. For example surviving partisans established a Ghetto Fighters Memorial Museum on Kibbutz Lochemai Ha'Getta-ot. A chamber of the Holocaust is to be found on Mount Zion within a *Yeshiva* (religious seminary) where students regard their learning as a form of memorialisation.
  
43. In choosing a specific memorial day, the rabbinate of Israel preferred the 10th of the month *Tevet* rather than the secular date of 27th *Nissan* which marked the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising according to the Gregorian calendar. The fact that the secular date became entrenched was further evidence for Liebman and Don- Yehiya's thesis of the growth of an Israeli civil religion. The struggle over a date for Yom HaShoah none-the-less arose periodically (Greenberg; Moment 1989 Vol 14 No 4; Greenberg 1988: Chapter 10; Beck Jewish Chronicle 28 April 1995). A recurring suggestion has been the observing of the commemoration on 9th Av, a traditional day of mourning (Cohen, Jewish Chronicle 4 August 1989).
  
44. Yossi Klein Halevi in an article titled 'Who Owns The Memory' described the extent of the cultural literacy of the Holocaust.  

The Holocaust is a major theme for Israeli artists from the country's most popular young novelist, David Grossman to its most popular rock singer Yehuda Poliker (Jerusalem Report 25 Feb 1993).
  
45. For example Zionists shared the view that Israel is a solution to future threats of a Holocaust, while the ultra-orthodox regard the Holocaust in the traditional motif of catastrophe wrought as a punishment for sin. A number of



leading ultra-orthodox rabbis, for example, the Satmar Rebbe - Rabbi Joel Teitelbaum (USA) and Rabbi Eliezer Shach in Israel, repeatedly invoked the term '*Umipnei Chat-einu*' ("because of our sins") in which they perceive the Holocaust as punishment for the sins of secularism ("the denial of God") and the sin of Zionism ("forcing the hand of God by creating a political state in the Holy Land"). Each public statement of this position resulted in its rejection by other religious leaders and by the Israeli public. Pinchas Peli termed the rabbis approach, the 'First Adam' model - the Holocaust as retribution for sin (Jerusalem Post, 15 April 1983). Others who have written of this approach include Katz (1975) and Berkovitz (1989). It also featured in the local press in Cape Town in an article appearing in The Cape Argus, 31 Dec 1990: 'Holocaust- God's Punishment : Rabbis anger Israelis'.

46. David Breakstone in his doctoral thesis, The Dynamics of Israel in American Jewish Life (1988) gave a detailed analysis of the process of amalgamation and the outcomes that validate the notion of the American 'melting pot'.
47. Liebman explained this process:  
American Judaism took on the indelible stamp of an American denomination ... The American social environment has been conducive to the maintenance of Jewish identity although it has been corrosive of many aspects of the traditional content of Judaism (Liebman 1973:127).
48. Neusner explained:  
There are two symbols American Jewry evoke to explain to themselves the meaning of their distinctive existence as a group and of their individual participation in that group - the Holocaust and Redemption [through the establishment of the State of Israel]. The story of the extermination of European Jewry could not serve as a foundation for a usable myth of 'Holocaust' without one further component ... a corollary of 'Holocaust' had to be redemption, the remarkable victory and return to the ancient walls of Jerusalem [in 1967] (Neusner 1981:61).

Criticisms of the 'Holocaust obsession' were a recurring feature in Jewish journals and press as evident in the following articles:

- (i) 'Holocaust No Longer the Foundation of our Unity' by Harold Schulweis. In this polemic on ideological divisions amongst American Jews, Schulweis claimed that the Holocaust had dominated and united American Jews but there were growing signs of the exhaustion of the Holocaust as the binding myth of unity.
- (ii) 'A Fatal Obsession with the Holocaust' by Moshe Kohn (1992). Kohn quoted Ephraim Buchwald of the Los Angeles Times as saying 'the Holocaust is killing American Jewry'.

Besides the issues of obsession and excess, Neusner himself pointed out that judging by the high rate of intermarriage and outmarriage the themes of

identity had not sustained the new generation.

The next generation's response to Judaism consisting only of memories [of Holocaust and Redemption] has failed in its chosen mission to keep Jews Jewish (Jewish Chronicle, 23 April 1993).

49. Berenbaum, the director of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum explained this phenomenon:

The tide of Americanization cannot easily be amended, for Jews to solidify the place of the Holocaust within Jewish consciousness, they must establish its importance for the American people as a whole. This process cannot be reversed for the decision has already been made. By sharing our experience with the world we have transformed it and it in turn has changed us. (Berenbaum, 1986).

50. Henry Friedlander writing in 1973 in his analysis of the treatment of the subject in textbooks described the deficiency and stated that interested students would have to search hard for resources: (He prepared an annotated bibliography to ameliorate the difficulty).  
As the Holocaust became absorbed into the American ethos it began to feature in textbooks as shown by Margaret Silverman Eichner in her study of textbooks for the years 1962-1977. She analyses the treatment of the Holocaust in selected High School textbooks (1980). Her evaluation measured new texts for accuracy of detail and according to her own criteria that focused primarily on anti-racist education.

In addition to formal textbooks and not always included in the analysis of texts were the numerous curricular units and kits. A comprehensive list of American programmes was notated by Lucy Dawidowicz in her article 'How They Teach The Holocaust' (1990).

51. Similarly Dawidowicz was critical of the a glut of university courses: These often function as a Jewish equivalent to Black Studies - that is ethnic gratification rather than bona fide academics (1991:3).

52. Littell had stated:  
Tossing the suffering of many people during World War II into the same cauldron ... is a way of refusing to confront the significance of the martyrdom of six million (Grynberg 1982:57).

53. Alexander explained what he meant by 'Stealing the Holocaust'.  
The process which I call the stealing of the Holocaust began with small acts ... the triumphant stroke is the campaign to steal the Holocaust from the Jews by inverting the role of the victim and the perpetrator ... for example the Soviet inspired 'Zionism is Racism' resolution [of the United Nations] (1980).

Alexander quotes the novelist Cynthia Ozick's explicit rejection of the metaphor:

Jews are not metaphors, not for poets, not for novelists, not for theologians, not for murderers and never for anti-semites (1980).

54. Even in Europe with its own filmatic traditions, the Hollywood film dominated the market and public preference. Jay Branegan, in an article titled 'Europe vs Hollywood' (The struggle to contain the American film Colossus. Hollywood Rules!), states that 75% to 80% of the European box office is comprised of films from the United States (Time Magazine 27 Feb 1995:48).
55. The following three texts specifically investigate the subject of Holocaust film: Indelible Shadows (Insdorf 1983), The Holocaust in American Films (Doneson 1987) and Screening the Holocaust, Images of the Unimaginable (Avisar 1988).  
(Refer Appendix F: Film and video material concerning the Holocaust)
56. Insdorf noted the limited appeal of Holocaust documentaries:  
Documentaries tend to do poorly at the box office where audiences prefer the diversions of fiction to stark reality. This is important because some of the most powerful and important films about the Holocaust are 'non fiction' and 'non dramatic' (Insdorf 1983:193).
57. John Barlow describes Shoah (1985) as a rejection of fiction and documentary and the creation of a new genre.  
Shoah does not fit into any pre-existing genre ... it is neither scenic imitation nor any actual viewing of past events, but a meditation on present memories. (Barlow 1988:1427).  
Avisar described Shoah as an epic work and an uncompromising film that gravitates relentlessly to the core of the crimes calling attention to its own presentation rather than serving as a window representing reality (Avisar 1988:332).
58. It was largely for this reason that Doneson was critical of Insdorf's analysis. She argued that while Insdorf analysed cinematic technique and moral issues, she had failed to give significance to the impact of the context and the milieu on filmatic representations (Doneson 1987).
59. The precedent that paved the way was the assertion of Black Consciousness in NBC Television's docudrama Roots. Green's docudrama Holocaust was first screened in American in 1978 and was eventually viewed by 220 million Americans. (Mais, 1988:16; Doneson 1987:188). Avisar compares the 'soap opera style' of Green's Holocaust to Lanzman's Shoah (Avisar 1988:24). This comparison was also the subject of Jocelyn Hellig's essay, 'A Monument and a Memorial - Claude Lanzman's 'Shoah' (Hellig 1990).

60. Schindler's List (1994), directed by Steven Spielberg, was based on Thomas Keneally's book Schindler's Ark (1983) about the rescue efforts of Oscar Schindler. The film won seven Oscar awards at the 1994 66th Award Ceremony in the categories - Best Film, Director, Adapted Screenplay, Original Music Score, Cinematography, Film Editing and Art Direction. Spielberg regarded this film as 'his Holocaust movie' although he did add that he did not regard it as 'the definitive word' on the Holocaust. 'This is just a Holocaust film not the Holocaust film', (Jerusalem Post, 18 March 1994).
61. Leon Jick, writing in Yad Vashem in an article 'The Holocaust: Its Use and Abuse in the American Public,' elaborated:  
The devastating barb, there is no business like Shoah business, is sad to say a recognizable truth (1981).
62. Historical accuracy has repeatedly been distorted to satisfy the conventions of film as entertainment. Two examples illustrate this point from films current at the time of the study.
  - (a) In the film Triumph of the Spirit (Nova International 1989) the camp inmate and boxer, Arouch, is a composite character drawn from two actual people. Failure to acknowledge this led to a lawsuit for defamation. (Jewish Chronicle 28 April 1989).
  - (b) Countess Maria Von Maltzan, a German rescuer of Jews, complained of Leonard Gross's book The Last Jews of Berlin (1982) which was made into a film.  
Jacqueline Bisset played my role. They betrayed me out of my life story. (Block and Drucker 1992:156).

To authenticate their films various techniques have been employed. Herman Wouk's War and Remembrance (1978) was partially filmed on site at Auschwitz but Spielberg was refused permission for the filming of Schindler's List. Spielberg did shoot footage in Old Cracow and then employed a 'black and white' technique in order to create the illusion of historical authenticity. Tom Tugend discusses such techniques in an article 'Spielberg Films At Auschwitz' (Jerusalem Post 6 Feb. 1997).

63. Presenting the Holocaust through the set Hollywood formula of violence, sex and a dramatic but simple plot, had raised the charge of reducing the Holocaust, and profaning and trivializing the tragedy and the memory of the victims. Wiesel voiced his disdain and disapproval in his introduction to Insdorf's study of Holocaust films.  
We profane and trivialize a sacred subject ... to direct the massacre of Babi Yar is blasphemy, to make up extras as corpses is obscene. The Holocaust as filmed romantic adventure seems to me an outrage to the memory of the dead and to sensitivity. (Wiesel in Insdorf 1983: Forward).

Alvin Rosenfeld discusses 'the erotics of Auschwitz' in his article 'The Holocaust according to William Styron - Sophie's Choice' (1979).

64. Similar concerns about trivialization were recorded by Young when he researched the early plans for the Wiesenthal Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, to be built 'just along the road from Hollywood and Disneyland'.  
Early conjecture surrounding the initial design of the Wiesenthal Centre [Beit HaShoah - Museum of Tolerance] was not without basis in the land of Disney and entertainment theme parks ... A Holocaust Chamber of horrors replete with piped in smoke and screams, did indeed make its way on to the drawing board. (Young 1993:308).
  65. It was for this reason that Doneson praised the soap opera docudrama Holocaust (1978) for what it achieved in reaching mass public audiences.  
It set the stage for a new look and acceptance of the subject of the Final Solution in the public consciousness. People in Idaho, North Dakota and New York - throughout the United States, were now initiated albeit in a simplified manner, into the world of the Nazi genocide against the Jews. The Holocaust [video serial] provided a frame of reference, a storage of knowledge, which helped audiences to confront the numerous dramatizations that followed on the Holocaust and on antisemitism (Doneson 1988:1677).
- The 'common language' is also evident in the influence of the visual media such as photography. Avisar noted that certain specific photographs had emerged as fixed symbols of the Holocaust; these included the Gates of Auschwitz and the sign '*Arbeit Macht Frei*'; the skeletal bodies at the three tier bunk in a camp, and the little boy with his hands aloft during a round-up. (Avisar, 1988:4).
66. Young later wrote of the power of the visual image:  
While questions of high art and low art may well continue to inform discussion around the Holocaust, they must not dictate the critical discussion any longer ... rather than patronizing mass tastes we must recognize that public taste carries weight and that certain conventional forms of avowedly public art may eventually have consequences for public memory - whether or not we think they should. (Young 1993:12)
  67. As with the exploitation of language, the film medium was manipulated to serve the Nazi regime. Filmatic images and techniques were used in a masterful way to promote propaganda and ideology. Director Leni Riefenstahl's 1935 film of Hitler's Nuremberg Rally - Triumph Of Will came to be regarded as one of cinema's greatest works of political propaganda. (Caleb Ben-David 1994). The Fuhrer Gives The Jews A City (1944) was another propaganda piece that was used to mask Auschwitz. It depicted Thereisenstadt as a refuge for Jews. (Regina Michal Friedman 1988:1698).

Baruch Gitlis pointed out that Joseph Goebbels was well aware of the limitations of direct propaganda and recognized the value of entertainment and drama as a more successful way to influence public opinion. The crude film Der Ewige Jude depicting rats and vermin, was less successful than the stereotype images introduced into the Nazi 'docudrama' films Die Rothschilds (1940) and Jud Süß (1940) (Gitlis, 1991).

Doneson in her entry on film in The Encyclopaedia of the Holocaust argued that all these propaganda films appeared in 1940 to prepare the German public for the Final Solution:

Not coincidentally but rather as part of an overall plan connected with the destruction of European Jewry (Doneson 1990:1484).

68. Similarly in France, Max Orphul's The Sorrow And The Pity (1970) challenged the myth of nationwide French Resistance and raised awkward questions about the extent of French collaboration during the war. (Avisar 1988:19).
69. Spielberg's producer, Holocaust survivor Branko Lustig, expressed his gratitude in his acceptance speech at the Oscar awards ceremony televised on South African Television (22 March 1995).

In the name of six million Jews killed in the Shoah, and other Nazi victims, I want to thank you for acknowledging this movie.

If it was presumptuous to claim that the Oscar award had won the world's cognisance of the Holocaust, it was with unabashed bathos that Spielberg added his own dedication - which revealed the extent that Hollywood's 'reality' had meshed with the Holocaust:

To my wife for rescuing me 92 days in a row in Cracow when things got to be just unbearable (sic); and to the six million who couldn't be among the one billion watching this telecast tonight (sic).

70. Hadas Klausner gives an example in The Jerusalem Report (May 19 1994) when she reported that in Vienna all children over 15 years of age were given free access to view Schinder's List. Spielberg himself gave rights to the Holocaust Education Centre in Boston, to prepare the film as a resource for education. (The Times Education Supplement. Sept 16 1994).
71. The film Schindler's List (1994) was banned (temporarily or permanently), or censored in Lebanon, Jordan, Malaysia, Egypt, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, India, the Philippines and Indonesia. Reported in Sunday Times Hugh Davies (10 April 1994); Cape Times (29 March 1994); and Cape Argus (10 April 1994).



## CHAPTER TWO

1. The researcher as co-ordinator of the Jewish Studies and Jewish History curricula for the United Herzlia Primary Schools, had observed and experienced these difficulties and frustrations. The original identification of the problem of Holocaust education in these primary schools had emerged from the practical. This was supported by the response of teachers in the interviews and questionnaires.
2. Lee Shulman points out that deliberation and consensus were recognized as important in order to enlist commitment to curricula (Shulman 1984:184). The consensual approach developed by Schwab was also criticized, for example, William Reid questioned the prescriptive liberal philosophy that informs Schwab's approach (Reid 1984:103).
3. Schwab referred to substantive structures which he distinguished from syntactic structures, the latter being the manner and method through which the knowledge of the substantive, intrinsic structures are verified (Schwab 1978:332).
4. Seymour Fox and Geraldine Rosenfield based their book 'From Scholar to Classroom' on this premise (Fox and Rosenfield:1977).
5. In a chapter called 'Problems, Topics and Issues', Schwab wrote of the commonplaces.  

The commonplaces are the focii of attention within an area of interest that demands the attention of serious investigators and scrutiny that generates diverse investigation (Schwab 1964:5).
6. The point is made clear in Schwab's title and content of his essay 'On the corruption of education by Psychology' (Schwab 1958:169).
7. Schwab wrote of these in his later work 'The Practical: Four'.  

As a corrective alternative to such theoreticism I have proposed cultivation and use of two sets of arts which treat, respectively, the need for localism of curriculum and the need for adaptation of theories ... arts of the practical i.e. prudence and deliberation, and arts of the eclectic (Schwab 1983:243).
8. Fox described the role of simulation:  

The process of the formulation of the problem involves the examination of various symptoms and the generation of alternative responses ... Each of these responses which are potential solutions to the problem being formulated, must be examined in terms of the consequences that are likely to ensue from their adoption, they must all be considered, rehearsed and evaluated ... [in] a full scale simulation (Fox 1985:82).

Fox continued to explain that the approach involves two different stages of



simulation, the first being in the formulation of the problem and the second being the process of moving from the problem to curriculum development and its implementation.

9. Lee Shulman correctly asserts that Schwab himself did not exclude the possibility of 'lone-deliberations' and Schwab referred to 'a deliberative exchange and consideration among several persons or differing selves' (Schwab 1983:239). Shulman argues that this reference to 'differing selves' is the first indication Schwab gave 'that deliberation can occur productively within a single individual without the benefit of a group' (Shulman 1984:185).
10. Lawrence Stenhouse makes a similar observation when he spoke of the teacher's judgement as being crucial to curriculum since the teacher acts as a highly desirable barrier by assessing, evaluating and, where necessary, rejecting curriculum (Stenhouse 1978:214).
11. (a) Ralph Tyler espouses a similar recognition when he reflected on how in his original 'rationale for curriculum development', he had excluded the teacher as a source of information. The teacher had previously been seen as the means of implementing the objectives and was only introduced to the process of curricula development after the objectives were formulated (Tyler 1949).
11. (b) Fox sought to reinterpret Schwab's shift toward the teacher as being the focus of a second group of teachers who would be brought in to modify the work of the central curriculum agencies (Fox 1985:73).
12. The researcher's intensive study of Herzlia Weizmann was matched by extensive reading about each of the commonplaces. The researcher also pursued these studies during a year at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem under the tutelage of leading experts in each field. Courses included the following:
  - A study of South African Jewry with Dr Gideon Shimoni
  - Historiography - History and Memory - with Dr Ze'ev Mankowitz
  - Holocaust studies with Profs Yehuda Bauer, Yisrael Gutman and Dov Kulka
  - Holocaust education in Israel with Prof Dalia Ofir
  - The Teacher As Researcher with Dr Asher Shkedi
  - Curriculum Design with Prof Seymour Fox

In Jerusalem the researcher also participated in a Holocaust education workshop for teachers at the David Yellin Teacher's Training College held in conjunction with Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial Institute.

### CHAPTER THREE

1. Rist offers the following description of qualitative research:  
 Qualitative research posits that the most powerful and parsimonious way to understand human beings is to watch, talk, listen and participate with them in their own natural setting ... [to develop] a knowing based on experience and involvement (Rist 1982:440).

He does not discount the importance of quantitative research (Rist 1982:448) and he is in agreement with the anthropologists George and Louise Spindler who called for the use of both methods provided they are grounded in the context of the field study.

Qualitative and quantitative techniques are in no way incompatible if they provide information on different dimensions of the same phenomenon; if the instruments used for quantification are heuristic to the setting and are formed out of field experiences (Spindler and Spindler 1982:41).

2. Harry Wolcott recognized the benefits of the ethnographic approach for research in education, and 'without feeling that the researcher must make all the commitments and meet all the prerequisites of the professional anthropologist' (Wolcott 1976:29). Wolcott, however, did go on to adopt a purist stance. In a subsequent essay called 'Mirrors, Models and Monitors' (Wolcott 1982:83-95) he lamented what he labelled the 'quick and dirty of pseudo ethnography' where educators research focused on the process and approach - the models; rather than the mirrors or product which he insisted should be measured by the yardstick of the rigours of anthropological research. George Spindler, at the forefront of anthropology had however long recognized that educationalists would search out and utilize what seemed relevant to them of the anthropological products (Spindler, G.D. 1963:72).
3. The researcher had taught at Herzlia Weizmann from 1984 and was appointed head of the Jewish Studies Department in 1988 when he became Co-ordinator of Jewish History for all the primary schools and departmental head for all primary schools in the system in 1991. A number of additional experiences informed this study and brought additional perspectives to the research. The researcher had been involved in informal Jewish education for many years and from 1986 had been Educational Director of the Cape Board of Jewish Education. The supplementary system under the auspices of the Board catered for Jewish students attending government schools.
4. Jean Rudduck argued the case for the highly desirable role of 'teacher as researcher' which she explained was a preferable definition to that of Schon's gentler phrase 'the reflective practitioner'. Rudduck explained that the notion of 'teacher as researcher' bridged the gap between the teacher as reflective practitioner and the requirements and rigours of research (Rudduck 1985:281). This sort of research would not only enhance teaching practice but it would make a significant contribution to understanding education from the

perspective of the practitioner who along with the pupils are at the heart of the educational endeavour.

5. McCall and Simmons noted:  
Surely no social scientific method has given rise to more criticism and controversy in the past twenty years than this broad approach known as participation-observation' (McCall and Simmons 1969:1).
6. This continuum incorporates Gold's four master roles of participant-observation in which differing roles are suggested in order to yield results for differing situations. (Gold in Burgess 1982:45). These roles include:
  - (a) complete participant;
  - (b) participant as observer;
  - (c) observer participant and
  - (d) complete observer.

In addition Bud Khlief points out that roles change and can be modified resulting in what he terms 'the Janus-like stance' (Khlief 1974:394).

7. Peshkin warned of the risk of finding in the data not what is there but what is in the eye of the beholder (Peshkin 1982:53).
8. N.K. Denzin suggested a list of six principle types of triangulation namely - time, space, investigator, methodological, theoretical and combined levels of triangulation (Denzin quoted in Cohen and Marion 1980:211).
9. Stenhouse explains the need for an 'openness':  
In order to be an observer-teacher, the teacher needs to teach that definition of himself to the pupils ... this is quite possible provided he makes it clear that the reason he is playing the role of researcher is to improve his teaching and make things better for them (Stenhouse 1978:155).
10. Merriam lists the main strategies for gathering data for a case study as observation, interviewing and document analysis (Merriam 1985:210). Similarly Wolcott describes these as the main techniques of ethnography although he suggests a more comprehensive tabulation in the form of Pertri Pelto's inventory of techniques (Wolcott 1976:36).
11. Burgess expressed his concern that insufficient attention is given to the historical sources to the detriment of the case study.  
If we turn to ethnographic studies we find historical data is neglected ... field research is in danger of misinterpreting the present if historical sources are ignored (Burgess 1983:131).

12. Sarah Delamont explained the need for greater connection between the micro and macro levels in ethnography.

What is needed is more ethnography which attempts to relate micro level research to wider social and hence theoretical issues so that a classroom and a school are not artificially separated from the community (Sarah Delamont in Barton and Meighan 1978:62).

University of Cape Town



## CHAPTER FOUR

1. This was of particular significance in terms of the close association of the Jewish Studies departments of which the researcher is the co-ordinator and also because of the regular interchanges of staff that occur between the schools.

In the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Departments of the Herzlia Primary Schools, many of the teachers had worked in one or more of the sister schools. This interchangeability reflects the commonality in the system particularly in these fields. This feature also proved to be of assistance to the researcher since interviews of past teachers of Weizmann, employed in other branches, offered a rich source for informed comparisons.

2. A case in point was the year 1994 when the international exhibition Anne Frank In The World, along with the Oscar winning film Schindler's List (Spielberg, 1994), gave unusually wide exposure and high public profile to the subject of the Holocaust.
3. Even these typical methods of ethnographic research were largely unobtrusive because of the researcher's role as a regular participant in the setting, where research was accepted as part of the ongoing assessments and improvements carried out in the school by this researcher over the last decade. The researcher in his capacity as Head of Jewish Studies, had carried out numerous surveys, and formal and informal research involving parents, teachers and pupils. These included action research, surveys, and descriptive research in the decade 1985 - 95.
4. Buckland explained:  
The schematic outline of the relationship of various aspects of the curriculum to the whole, while it is acknowledged that such devices conceal as much as they reveal, this one is offered to illustrate the point that to regard curriculum merely as the official, explicit, intended learning activity, is to mistake the part for the whole and is likely to lead to limited or even inaccurate insights into the process of schooling (Buckland 1982:169).

Buckland's model reflects the multitude of dimensions of curriculum.

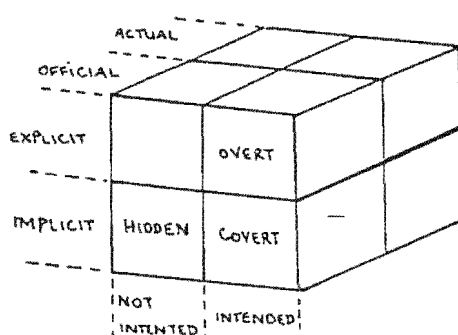


Fig 1. The Total Curriculum

5. Similarly in March 1990 P.J. Krawitz, the UHS Chairman, stated the figure of 1900 pupils (Cape Jewish Chronicle Vol. 7, No. 2. March 1990).
6. The forerunner of the United Herzlia Schools, already in the 1920s, sought to be entirely independent of any congregation or institution (Katz 1980:158). Weizmann was different in that it was created as a congregational school. Following the amalgamation with Herzlia in 1976, the congregation retained ownership of the land but relinquished all controls over educational matters.
7. Jocelyn Hellig, in her study of South African Jewish identity, elaborated on this point. Jews entered the country as part of the privileged white caste which was culturally dualistic and of indeterminate national identity. This proved to be highly significant in providing leeway for the preservation of Jewish identity in South Africa (Hellig 1984:98).
8. In the South African context orthodoxy is for the most part a widely accepted form of identification rather than a system of disciplined observance (Hellig 1986:237-40).
9. It was first formulated by Rabbi Isaac Goss who in 1948 as director of the Jewish Board of Education, had it enshrined in the Board's Constitution. The school's prospectus briefly defined the terminology -  
     The 'National' aspect of the Jewish people is Zionism. The  
     'Traditional' refers to skills and knowledge of Jewish practices  
     (Herzlia Weizmann Parents Guide 1985:3).
10. Shimoni points out that this was a compromise formula and was defined more fully as Jewish education based on 'broadly National-Traditional lines.' The adjective 'broadly' as opposed to 'strictly' had been a source of contention. Shimoni concluded that its adoption signified a tolerant and uncoersive attitude toward the question of actual observance - thereby reflecting the rather lax mode of observance in most pupils' homes (Shimoni 1980:254).
11. With a smaller school it should be possible for teachers to get to know not only their classes but a broad spectrum of the school community (Principal's letter to Teachers 18 January 1993).
12. The rote learning of blocks of information in a particular subject is less important than the structure of the discipline, its basic and intrinsic concepts, its methodology, its relationship to other disciplines and its criteria for arriving at the truth (Parent Guide 1986).
13. The increased state subvention received in the early 1980s gave rise to apprehensions about increased departmental prescription of curricular contents, this concern remained unfounded.

14. In 1994 the UHS Chairman reported that state subvention amounted to R2.7m of that years total budget of R17m. (The Cape Jewish Chronicle Vol II No 3 May 1994:8).

15. Being a community school we have the philosophy that no Jewish child should be deprived of a Jewish education, and consequently admission is not a function of affordability (UHS Chairman, Cape Jewish Chronicle Vol II No 4 1994:8).

Approximately one third of all students receive financial remission which is carried as a communal responsibility.

School fees are heavily subsidised by the Cape Town Jewish community ... a bursary enables those unable to afford the school fees (Parents Guide 1994:15).

16. At Herzlia English is taught as mother tongue, Afrikaans as second language and Hebrew as a third, foreign language.

*'Ivrit Be'Ivrit'* is an approach to teaching the Hebrew language through immersion with Hebrew as the sole means of communication in the classroom (literally - Hebrew in Hebrew).

17. An exception to the chronological calendar approach was found in the popular textbook *'Neurim'* compiled by Yosef Cohen-Tzedek and David Shitrai (1972) and widely used in Hebrew education in Australia, South America and South Africa. Intended for the Standard Five level it contained a separate anthology of poems, texts and bible readings related to the Holocaust (pages 169 - 178). This textbook was used as the advanced reader of the Shalom Series used in the Herzlia Schools in the 1970s and 1980s.

18. Rabbi Louis Herring, a prime motivator for this innovation, explained: Jewish Studies should be taught as an English medium subject because when you teach Jewish History in Hebrew, you are essentially teaching Hebrew and not very much Jewish History. This applies to *'Tanach'* (Bible) and it also applies to the Festivals and to *'Dinim'* (Laws) (Herzlia Headlines - No 25 1978).

19. Specific areas may be allocated through negotiation and planning. For example, prayer recitation was taught in Hebrew class in order to develop fluency, while the meanings and concepts of prayer texts were explored in Jewish Studies.

20. Another reason was found in the Hebrew language programme titled Madraygot (Rivlin, 1986). This was a rigidly graded language immersion programme with vocabulary, language and stories graded and integrated to ensure development of language proficiency. The series, used in Australia, South America and South Africa, included Holocaust stories of a survivor and



about the heroine, Chanah Senesh in Madraygot Volume 7-8 and studied at Herzlia in Standard Six. Because the Madraygot series was designed for schools with a greater Hebrew time allocation the compilers had intended having these texts used at Standard Four - Five level. In the years between using Neurim and Madraygot the school had produced a number of in-house anthologies called 'Leket' which drew on the early text, thus Leket Standard 5 carried the story of Chanah Senesh (Leket 6-9). With the adoption of the Madraygot series in 1987, Holocaust material was no longer found in the Hebrew readers in the primary school and hence the emphatic comment by the Department Head - 'No, nothing anymore!' (Interview 18: Head of Hebrew).

21. Herring and Rom (1978) placed great emphasis on Values training (Herzlia Headlines No 25 1978) and on religious education (Levitan 1983:55). Paralleling Rabbi Herring's changes, the principal of Herzlia Weizmann at that time had already created a new post in the school for teaching Jewish History in the vernacular. 'Standards Two - Five were to be given an additional two periods of Jewish History in English' (Levitan 1983:55). Levitan not only researched the changes but was the first teacher to fill the new post of Jewish History teacher.
22. The entire approach to teaching Jewish History was problematic and Levitan criticized it for its inappropriateness. No attempt was made to formulate the Jewish History syllabus nor to vary its methodology in accordance with the needs of children at various ages (Levitan 1983:57).
23. Thus a teacher interviewed by Levitan noted:  
I feel that the Jewish Studies curriculum as a whole is not thought out clearly enough, nor is it comprehensive or concerned with the needs of the child (Levitan 1983:130).
24. The Director of Judaica was an administrative post that co-ordinated and promoted development of the subjects Hebrew and J.S. In 1983 Dr Shenhar (1982-84) amended the overall J.S. curriculum. No changes were made under Dr Kalmar (1984-86) and the last Director Mr I Mann (1986-1993) focused his attention on the Middle and High School, and the drive to have J.S. accredited as a matriculation subject. The position of Director of Judaica for the entire system was not filled after 1993.
25. It was at this point in 1985 that the researcher took up employment at Weizmann School as a teacher of Jewish Studies and as a class-teacher. The lack of coherence and the confusion that existed was very evident and the principal at that time suggested disregarding any prescribed syllabii and assisted in shaping a loose syllabus based on the inherited subject headings and divisions. The principal was committed to establishing a school-based J.S. curriculum and to this end he involved J.S. staff of all the primary schools in order to pool ideas and resources and to negotiate a suitable curriculum. Levitan had previously recorded his stated approach:  
Curriculum development has to be a team development and cannot be imposed from above (Levitan 1983:125).

His recruitment of the researcher as a Jewish Studies specialist teacher was intended to facilitate the endeavour which he subsequently left in the hands of the appointed specialist whom he promoted to Head of Department in 1987. Furthermore he won the support of the school executive to extend this position to that of co-ordinator of Jewish History across all the primary schools. In 1991 the researcher was promoted to Head of Jewish Studies for the entire primary school structure and was responsible for curriculum development, teacher supervision and the continued expansion of the J.S. department.

26. The librarian had also provided an audio tape titled We Who Survive (de Guizeman 1977) but this over-dramatised simulation of dilemmas facing two children in Nazi occupied Europe, held little appeal for the students. This audio tape's dialogue didn't fit its context and the thick American accents detracted from the authenticity of the role play.
27. In 1993, for example, all Jewish Studies teaches of the lower primary school reported taking their classes to visit these candles and the wall exhibition in the school foyer.
28. Raoul Wallenberg, a Swedish diplomat, through the issuing of false Swedish passes (*Schutzpasse*), and by establishing diplomatic immunity over 'safe' houses in Budapest, saved over 100 000 Hungarian Jews from deportation (1944-5).
29. Denmark had been declared a German Protectorate in 1940 and as part of the agreement the Danish government secured control over domestic policy and was thus able to protect the Danish Jewish population. The State of Emergency declared in September 1943 removed that protection and plans for deportation of Jews were to be implemented. Though initially disorganized, a popular resistance emerged involving the hiding of Jews and the ferrying of the entire community to safety in Sweden. While the majority of 7 800 people were saved, 500 who were captured in the raids were deported to Terezin. The Danish Red Cross arranged support and secured their release (Yahil 1969; Goldberger 1987).
30. This visit was reported in the school magazine:  

As preparation our Standard Two's heard a guest speaker tell of her escape from Denmark during World War II (Herzlia Headlines No 48 Oct 1992:10).

Previously during the relating of the rescue in 1987 a pupil in the class indicated that her aunt in Denmark had similarly been rescued.
31. In popular Israeli culture, Chanah Senesh came to exemplify Zionism's physical regeneration and the redemptive motif for the perceived exile in the Diaspora. Attempts to debunk her image as heroine in the mid 1990s were rejected by the Israeli public who continues to regard her as a heroine (Hay 1986; Atkinson 1985).

While her anglicized name "Hannah" is used in English titles, her Hebrew name Chanah is consistently used in the Herzlia system. In this study the dual usage is preserved.

32. Dr Reisenberger of the Hebrew Department of UCT, similarly visited the school in 1989. Two pupils from her Standard Three audience recorded the visit in the school magazine of 1989:
  - They tortured her but she did not give her secrets away. She carried on writing poetry and gave hope to others. She died when she was 23, but her memory still stays with us (D.W. Herzlia Weizmann Magazine: 30).
  - A lady came to talk to us about Chanah Senesh. People say she is a heroine. Tzilli [the speaker] has met Chanah's mother and brother. She tried to save them and the Jews ... but unfortunately she got caught and was tortured to death (sic) (Y.M. Herzlia Weizmann Magazine: 30).
33. Yom HaShoah falls each year in the period of the calendar known as the *Omer* - the 49 day period connecting Passover to Pentecost, and with each day being publically counted in the synagogue and in morning prayers at the school. The note identified the various festivals and commemoration days that fell in this period and briefly explained their significance and rituals (Appendix A.6.). This 'mapping' of the calendar formed part of the overall programme where such notes were collected for a final end-of-year assessment.
34. The faith and hope that characterized Anne Frank's writing in her diary are underscored by the stark reality and suffering of her last days evident in testimonies given in Willy Landwer's documentary film and book The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank (1991). Dr Rolf Wolfswinkel raised this issue in his lecture titled 'I want to go on living after my Death' (UCT: March 1994).
35. The following collection of books on the subject were available to the students:
  - FRANK, A 1965 Tales From the House Behind. Pan.
  - FRANK, A 1989 The Diary of Anne Frank - The Critical Edition. Doubleday.
  - GIES M and GOLD, A.L. 1987 Anne Frank Remembered. Bantam.
  - JAMES 1989 The Life and Times of Anne Frank. Franklin Watts.
  - SCHLOSS 1989 Eva's Story. Star Books.
  - SCHNABEL 1959 The Footsteps of Anne Frank. Pan.
36. Though the exhibition organizers provided teacher training and a comprehensive Teacher's Guide (Duggan 1994), these were pitched at the Middle and High School levels. The trained guides were therefore not enlisted for the Standard Four tours which were conducted by the Herzlia teachers themselves. A programme based on the lesson content as previously described, was adapted for the entire Standard Four population of the Herzlia

system. Thus after a guided tour with appropriate worksheets (Appendix C.1.iii.), selected excerpts were read and pupils viewed the video tapes Dear Kitty (1987) and The Legacy of Anne Frank (1967). While the worksheet focused on Anne Frank it also addressed the history of racism in South Africa and involved students in the parallel exhibition called Apartheid and Resistance mounted by the Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa which localized the lessons in the context of the consequences of South African racism.

37. The exhibition was exhibited in the South African National Gallery in Cape Town (March 1 - April 4 1994) thereafter it travelled to other centres around South Africa. The vast ancillary programme included lectures, films, theatres and special musical programmes (Appendix C.1.ii).

38. A similar inclusion of the Holocaust Memorial and 'Avenue of the Righteous' as one of the places of interest in Jerusalem featured in a Jerusalem project at Herzlia Constantia Primary in 1992.

When we were discussing Jerusalem ... Yad Vashem was briefly mentioned, and the Avenue of the Righteous Gentiles, and the bravery of those people (Interview 16: Herzlia Constantia Teachers).

39. Approximately 20% of that particular standard were of Sephardi Jewish descent. Holocaust awareness was particularly strong amongst their families since almost every Jewish family from Rhodes had sustained the loss of immediate members.

40. Asked if she ever dealt with the subject of the Holocaust the teacher responded with an emphatic answer:

No! Never! It doesn't come up like that! (Interview 11: Class Teacher).

Yet this belied the references that later emerged.

We don't deal with the Second World War but it comes up for example once when I was dealing with South African history and with the massacre of one tribe or another - then maybe we do home in on the Holocaust. Being a Jewish school and knowing that they do have an understanding of it. In drawing comparisons, I use it not because I am trying to heighten the awareness of it but because I know it's a reference point. They don't know about the Second World War or the Russian Revolution .. but they know about the Holocaust (Interview 11: Class Teacher).

41. I try to engage teachers when they are choosing books to read over the course of the year; they should read different types of books [to the pupils] - a girl heroine, a historical novel, a humorous book, a fantasy, and with this I also have the category of war (Interview 7: School Librarian).

42. It is not only physical survival, but the survival of humankind and overcoming difficulties in hostile settings ... for example, to be left without parents or handing over a child to ensure its survival ... it is the one time when we do have a concentrated time (on the topic) (Interview: Librarian).
43. The list of books for study and review included the following books with a Holocaust context:
- |                 |      |   |
|-----------------|------|---|
| HOLM, A.        | 1965 | <u>I am David</u> . Puffin Books.                     |
| KERR, J.        | 1982 | <u>When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit</u> . Fontana Lions. |
| OBERSKI, Y.     | 1978 | <u>A Childhood</u> . Coronet Books.                   |
| ORLEV, U.       | 1984 | <u>The Island on Bird Street</u> . Houghton Mifflin.  |
| SERRAILLIER, I. | 1975 | <u>The Silver Sword</u> . Puffin Books.               |
- Since The Diary of Anne Frank was already included in the Jewish Studies syllabus, it was intentionally not included in this list. In contrast in 1990, in consultation with the J.S. Department, the Diary was used as a class reader in English in Standard Four although this was not repeated.
44. A second school counsellor reiterated the point and illustrated how the subject may arise.
- In life cycle 'death' is a topic, and for example last year and this year when there has been too much violence in the country, we spoke of it ... then I myself made the connection for them, that there were times when Jews were in a similar situation to Black people [in South Africa], in Ghettos .. and ghettoisation but this was not a conscious attempt to deal with the Holocaust (Interview 6: School Counsellor).
45. The discrepancy arises over the difference between the solar basis of the Gregorian calendar and the lunar basis of the Hebrew calendar. This notwithstanding to facilitate wider communal participation, commemorations in some years have been shifted to the nearest Sunday or public holiday.
46. Each calendar event had a co-ordinator who was elected at the start of each year. This assisted in delegating responsibility especially for the tight cluster of Judaic events around the period of Holocaust Memorial Day.
47. In Jewish law and tradition the day begins at sunset of the eve before thereby requiring that all preparations be completed prior to the eve. This bolstered the educational approach of always commemorating before or on the day of commemoration rather than after the event.
48. A directive had been sent to all English, History and J.S. Departments at each Herzlia School during late 1993 requesting special attention being paid to this anniversary.
- Please be notified that 1993 is the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. We are interested in having some

form of commemoration during the second term of 1993. We request that you apply your minds to the possibility of doing something relevant in a formal or non-formal way in your department (Directive from the Director of Judaica, September 1 1992).

49. This song known in Yiddish by its original title '*Zog Nit Kayn Mol*' (Trans. 'Never Say This Is The Last Road') was a tribute to the fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto and was written in 1943 after the ghetto fell. The writer Hirsch Glick (1920 - 1944) from Vilna, perished a year later during an escape from a labour camp in Estonia. By that time his tribute had already become widely known as 'The Song of the Partisans' and 'The Anthem of the Ghetto Fighters'. It is sung as a semi-official anthem at Holocaust Memorial Ceremonies especially in Israel. (Kalisch 1986).
50. The 'Wall' was created from a collection of photographs drawn from the school library book 'The Children We Remember' (Byers Abells, 1987). Photographs from the album were photo-copied and enlarged and pasted on to a plain brown paper. The simple text and sensitive compilation were child centred and age appropriate (Appendix B.1.).
51. At the request of the Jewish Studies teachers, the Art teacher prepared a large mural depicting the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Words super-imposed on the drawing included 'fire bombing; mass deportation, smuggling, the wall and revolt'. Each of these carried a short text explaining the significance in terms of the subject of the Warsaw Ghetto (Appendix B.2.).
52. The School Councillor was asked to vet the 'Wall of Commemoration' exhibitions. She agreed with the J.S. staff that one of the photos and a short text should not appear. The photo showed a mother and child being shot at close range with the text 'Sometimes they put children to death' (Byers Abells 1987) (refer Appendix E.5.1.ii.).
53. The Hebrew and J.S. staff reported that they had taken each of their classes to view the exhibits and the candles.
54. Hitler's enemy was not the Jewish people but the Torah itself which teaches loving your neighbour and forbids murder and stealing (Appendix B.4.).
55. A sample of the liturgy:  
'G-d who is full of mercy ... we remember the souls of six million brothers and sisters ... whose only crime was that they were Jewish' (Appendix B.4.).
56. Drawing on classwork the text continued:  
We think of the millions and of the individuals ... Janus Korczak ... Anne Frank ... Chava and Willie whose photos are [exhibited] downstairs, the righteous gentiles ... and the Jewish

fighters like Chana Senesh (Appendix B.4.).

At this point in the ceremony a pupil gave a rendition on the recorder of Chana Senesh's poem called 'A Walk to Caesarea' and the poem was then read in Hebrew and English. This poem is another classic Holocaust text frequently used at commemorations and well known to pupils in Israel. Senesh wrote this poem while living on a kibbutz near Caesarea and during idyllic days prior to her volunteering for military service with the British army.

57. The text of the ceremony included this tribute:

This year in particular we honour the resistance offered by half a million Jews who fought with the Allies in armies from Russia, U.S.A., Britain and also South Africa.

We especially honour the Ghetto fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto ... their revolt fifty years ago ... and Mordechai Anielewicz who led the uprising for three weeks until the Ghetto was utterly destroyed. To honour the fighters Hirsch Glick wrote 'The Anthem of the Ghetto Fighters (Appendix B.4.).

58. Their texts read as follows:

Standard Four pupil: Anne Frank hid with her family in class we learnt about her diary. She wrote - 'Despite everything I still believe in the goodness of man ...'

Standard Three pupil: Chana Senesh was parachuted into Europe to try to save Jews. We learnt about her and her poems that have inspired others [Poem: Happy Is The Match]

(Script: Holocaust Memorial Service 1992).

59. Thus for example the entry for 1968 reads:

Mr Cohen [the Principal] made a short speech stressing the significance of the day. Standard Five pupils then added a few words, this was followed by lighting of six candles. We concluded with Hatikvah [the anthem of Israel] and then the school marched passed the candles (Weizmann School Magazine 1968:20).

A decade later the 1978 school magazine recorded a similar event for that year.

An address ... six candles were lit ... the ceremony closed with the singing of Hatikvah (Weizmann School Magazine 1978:46).

60. In the sample year of 1993 the school rabbi at Herzlia Constantia Primary addressed the pupils. Reference was made to Mordechai Anielewicz, leader of the Warsaw Ghetto fighters. Six candles were lit during a period of silence. A Holocaust poem by Solomon Kaplinski, the principal of the High School, was read from his newly published volume 'Lost And Found: A Second Generation Response to the Holocaust' (1992) (Herzlia Constantia J.S. Report Term II 1993).

Herzlia Highlands Primary reported that in 1993 a short ten minute ceremony was held at which six candles were lit - each being lit after a dedication to a specific group such as the children, the elderly, and the fighters. Traditional liturgical texts were also recited and the ceremony concluded with *Hatikvah* (Highlands Primary - J/S. Report Term II, 1993).

The rituals of the memorial day did not differ much in the sister schools. For example Highlands Primary School reported in 1993 that pupils were asked not to play boisterous games and to observe a quiet tone and a sombre atmosphere. In the senior primary of that school, a teacher reported:

The teachers mounted our exhibition of pictures based on the book 'The Children We Remember', along with a picture of Anne Frank and a yellow star. Pupils of Standard Two, Three and Four were brought to the foyer to see the pictures. The six candles lit at the service in the morning were transferred to the foyer and were left to burn during the entire day (Interview 16: Highlands Teachers).

The close parallel between this commemoration at Highlands Primary and Weizmann Primary was a function of the sharing of ideas through the Jewish Studies seminar.

61. The Middle and High Schools ceremonies as reported in their journals were of the same sombre tone with guest speakers and survivors addressing the students whose ceremonies were age appropriate and with suitable texts (Appendix B.8.).
62. In 1992 the exhibits were less elaborate with stark posters of large yellow stars of David on large black panels. The six candles were lit beneath these posters and created a dramatic rather than an informative one.  
A teachers noted the impact:  

On Yom Ha'Shoah I am aware that the Holocaust is taught, and when I walk into the school foyer on Yom Ha'Shoah I see a whole presentation. I am very aware that something is happening [about it] in the school (Interview 11: Teacher - Weizmann).
63. The destruction of over one hundred synagogues and thousands of Jewish shops was reported by Reinhard Heydrich at Goerings Ministry on 12 November 1938 (minutes of meeting, quoted by Gerhard Schoenberner; 1969: 23).
64. Following the directive (refer note 48) preparation began early in 1993. At teachers seminars the subjects of physical and spiritual resistance were explored along with practical implementation for commemoration. Since the uprising had begun on Passover of 1943 it was deemed appropriate to mark this at the schools Passover presentation and seder. The simulated Passover dinner or *seder* was a highlight of each school year and attracted many of the pupils' families and invited religious and lay leadership from the Jewish



community. The proceedings followed a truncated traditional text of the Hagadah ceremony, however a break in the middle allowed time for a showcase presentation by the pupils.

The text for the presentation in 1993 was written by teachers and was emotive and dramatic, focusing on Passover as a festival of freedom. It celebrated the recent freedom of Russian, Ethiopian and Syrian Jewries and juxtapositioned these releases from oppression with the ongoing suffering of people in Yugoslavia, Somalia and Angola at that same time, and the continuing plague of violence and insecurity in South Africa and Israel. The text then homed in on the desperate fight for freedom by the Ghetto fighters in 1943.

'And the depths of our pain is even greater when we recall the events that occurred fifty years ago ... the uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto (Appendix B.3.).

A reading of the 'Anthem of the Ghetto Fighters' then followed and especially highlighted the final line of the song: '*Mir Zainen dor*' - We are here! We are here! And here at Weizmann we commemorate that heroic battle. But rather than standing in silent memory we invite you to join us in singing this anthem to liberty that defiantly declares that despite all tyrants and tyranny '*Anachnu Po*', We are here! We are here to celebrate this festival of freedom. (Appendix B.3.)

Parents had been supplied with the text to facilitate their joining in the rendition. In the finale of the song, the Standard Four pupils in the presentation marched to the rhythm of an increasingly loud drumbeat and then unfurled the flag of the Ghetto fighters. (A video tape of this presentation is located with the researcher.)

The emotive effect of the presentation was recalled when eighteen months later a general studies teacher reflected upon it.

I recall that in 1993 the school commemorated the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising at the Passover function ... now that kind of thing elicits discussion (Interview 11: Class Teacher).

65. The library is seen as central to the school and to the life of each child. It has resources to satisfy the needs of recreational reading; the material (both book and non-book) for independent research as well as for developing private interests. The library boasts an excellent book stock which is constantly being expanded and brought up to date - and is professionally staffed (Herzlia Weizmann Parent's Guide 1993-4:7).
66. The Hebrew library carries a small collection of reference books, samples of textbooks, a number of Hebrew novels and a large collection of anthologies and readers such as the Gesher and Lador Junior Hebrew Library series. A number of books in these series dealt with the Holocaust such as 'Sefinat Ha'Ma'aplilim' (The Boats of Survivors) and 'Chanah Senesh' - a play by Aharon Meged. Both of these examples are pitched at the Middle School pupil and at best would be read by advanced Hebrew readers and Israeli pupils. Even though this resource centre had an extensive poster and pictorial selection for Jewish holidays and Israeli education, with regard to the

Holocaust no further material was found beyond a few brochures from previous memorial services.

67. My bias is when I see anything related to the Holocaust I will immediately take it out, I do apply different criteria that I would to other books. I do feel that I would want the children to know as many of these books as possible. I do most definitely look for the books [when book buying] (Interview 7: School Librarian).
68. Books of this genre included those previously listed (note 43) and the following additional volumes:
- |               |      |  |
|---------------|------|--|
| FLINKER, M.   | 1965 | <u>Young Moshe's Diary</u> . Jerusalem; Yad Vashem.        |
| HANNAN, C.    | 1978 | <u>A Boy is that Situation</u> . NY, Harper and Row.       |
| HAUTZIG, E.   | 1968 | <u>The Endless Steppe</u> . Penguin.                       |
| KOEHN, I.     | 1977 | <u>Mischling Second Degree</u> . Bantam.                   |
| LOWRY, L.     | 1989 | <u>Number The Stars</u> . Dell.                            |
| RICHTER, H.P. | 1970 | <u>Friedrich</u> . Dell.                                   |
| SUHL, Y.      | 1973 | <u>Uncle Misha's Partisans</u> . NY, Fourwinds.            |
|               | 1975 | <u>On the Other Side of the Gate</u> . NY, Franklin Watts. |
| UHLMAN, F.    | 1977 | <u>Reunion</u> . Collins                                   |
69. The librarian explained:
- There is a reason for this ... I am afraid of the thin line between singularity and the uniqueness of the event ... almost a jealousy of one's own suffering as opposed to the suffering of other people - especially in South Africa (Interview 7: School Librarian).
70. These books adapted from adults literature included the following:
- |             |      |   |
|-------------|------|---|
| HOFFMAN, J. | 1979 | <u>Joseph and me in the Days of the Holocaust</u> . NY; Ktav. |
| STERN, E.N. | 1982 | <u>Elie Wiesel Witness for Life</u> . NY; Ktav.               |
71. The librarian was cognizant of this but added:
- For example 'Max and Helen' ... isn't easy for the primary school child ... but I hate to cut things off because there will be the individual child who will read this (Interview 7: School Librarian).
- The librarian explained that fiction was carefully vetted and where necessary advice was sought. The book 'A Boy in that Situation' by Charles Hannan was a case in point. It was vetted however not because of its Holocaust theme but because of its sexual explicitness as the memoirs of a pubescent teenager.
- 'My problem with it [was that] it talks about his growing sexuality. I was a little uncertain and I actually gave it to a parent of the school, a parenting counsellor in her professional

life. She said it was absolutely fine (Interview 7: Librarian).

72. The librarian noted:  
The section is open but I have books which I prefer to have mediated. These are of a particular genre of pictorial books like Rose Blanche (Innocenti 1991) which is a classic. Innocenti has an authenticity in the story and the illustrations. Though there is no mention of Holocaust - but for me this book [for children] is the outstanding book on the Holocaust (Interview 7: School Librarian). (Appendix E.5.)
73. Before purchasing the book 'Let the Celebrations Begin' by Margaret Wild and illustrated by Julia Vivas (1991), the librarian brought it to the attention of the Jewish Studies staff where it aroused much debate (Appendix E.9). The school counsellor had been absent at the time and on later being shown the book during an interview responded with stunned silence. After a long pause and close perusal she expressed concern. 'Who sees it? ... It does things to me ... I'm not sure what it would do to children ... the illustrations upset me' (Interview 6: School Counsellor). The impact is not without significance and responding to widespread disapproval, the publishers renamed the second edition 'A Time for Toys'. (Quoted by Karen Shawn, Dimensions Vol. 8 No. 2 G14 Supplement).  
The librarian noted:  
She didn't mean to offend but the illustrations are literally too close to the bone - it has horror (Interview 7: School Librarian).
74. One such book especially designed for the young child, was in 1993 prepared as the exhibition previously described. Another was a photographic record of Jewish life in Europe prior to the Holocaust (Patai:1981). 'The Yellow Star' by Gerhard Schoenberger (1969) was a classic photographic text that included many disturbing photos of murder, bodies and mass graves. This text was no longer to be found in the library having disappeared in the 1980s. Copies of it apparently were to be found in numerous pupils' homes because it was repeatedly referred to in interviews and each of the primary schools reported that pupils had brought the book to show their teachers and classes.
75. Books in the school library included the following:  
BYERS ABELLS, C. 1987 The Children We Remember. Yad Vashem.  
CHAIKIN, M. 1978 A Nightmare in History. NY, Clarion.  
HOFFMAN, J. 1979 Joseph and Me. NY, Ktav.  
ISRAEL POCKET LIBRARY SERIES  
1974 The Holocaust. Jerusalem Keter.  
STERN, E.N. 1982 Elie Wiesel - Witness for Life. NY, Ktav.
76. Encyclopaedias included the general series of Macmillan, World Book and Britannica, and specifically Jewish encyclopaedias - Encyclopaedia Judaica (Keter, Jerusalem 1972), My Jewish World (Keter, Jerusalem:1975) and

Junior Judaica (Keter Jerusalem:1974).

77. Books in this category found in the library included the following:

CAHILL, M.J.	1988	<u>Israel: Places and People of the World.</u> Chelsea Pub House (18:35)
JAMES, I.	1990	<u>Inside Israel.</u> Franklin Watts.
RUTLAND, J.	1970	<u>Looking at Israel.</u> Adam and Charles Black.
SAMUEL, R.	1969	<u>Israel: Promised Land to Modern State.</u> Valentine Mitchell Co.

The librarian noted that references appear in numerous forms.

Even in a book in the General Library, from a series about Palestinians or other books on the Arab-Israeli conflict ... and even books inclined towards perhaps a pro-Palestinian view, would ask - why did they come to Israel ... It was because of the Holocaust. Even if it presents it as not being 'our problem', they imply that Europe solved its problems by allowing Jews to come to Israel ... certainly this kind of information can be picked up (Interview 7: Librarian).

78. Library books on Israel that included Holocaust memorials:

GAFNI AND VAN DER HAYDEN		
	1978	<u>The Glory of Jerusalem.</u> Steimatsky.
HADARY, R.	1988	<u>Focus on Israel.</u> Hamish Hamilton.
KUBIE, N.B.	1978	<u>Israel.</u> Franklin Watts.
LAWTON, C.	1987	<u>Passport to Israel.</u> Franklin Watts.
LEVINE, G.	1981	<u>We Live in Israel.</u> Wayward Publ.
MOON, C. & B.	1983	<u>Israel is My Country.</u> Wayward Publ.

The latter two volumes both contain a biographical sketch of the curator of the Yad Vashem Memorial Institute.

The volume 'The Valiant of Israel' (Masada Publ:1965) devotes an entire chapter to heroism during the Holocaust.

79. A case in point was the volume by Morris Epstein - 'Pictorial Treasury of Jewish Holidays and Customs' (Ktav 1959). By 1970 the previous absence of the subject, was replaced by Epstein's comprehensive exploration and detail of observance in the revised edition 'All About Jewish Holidays and Customs' (Ktav 1970).

80. Jewish History books in the library with references to the Holocaust included the following:

EBAN, A.	1979	<u>My People.</u> Behrman House
FRY, P.S.	1970	<u>The Wonderful Story of The Jews.</u> Purnell.
GRAYZEL, S.	1969	<u>The History of the Jews.</u> J.P.S.A.
ISAACS, J.	1960	<u>A History of the Jews.</u> Merkos Le-Vaad Chinuch

- ISH KISHOR, S. 1960 Children's History of Israel. (Volumes I – III). NY, Jorden
- KEDOURIE, E. 1979 The Jewish World. London:Thames Hudson.
- PESSIN, D. 1958 The Jewish People. United Synagogues of America

Jewish history books reflected on the significance of the Holocaust in varying degrees and like the books on Judaism sometimes evinced the ideological and denominational positions of the institutions publishing them. For example the Jewish history textbook Pathways Through Jewish History (Ktav 1967) teaches that Einstein found a haven from the Nazis in America in a unit titled 'American Jewry takes the Lead'. Similarly Shirley Stern's volume Exploring Jewish History published by the Jewish Reform Movement in America (Ktav 1979), includes references to Reform leaders in Germany.

81. In 'Themes in Religion - Judaism- (Lawton and Erricher 1992) took a problem solving approach and raised moral dilemmas such as those faced by Ghetto Council elders in order to explore Jewish values. The subject also arose in Martin Gilbert's Jewish History Atlas (1976) and Charles Hannan's collection on Refugees and Evacuees (1989). Some of the books on World War II included mention of the Holocaust although such books until the 1960s focused mainly on military developments and encouraged a sense of war-adventure. Later publications included books looking at the experiences of children (Marx: 1989) and of resistance fighters (Prager and Prager: 1979).

Examples of books in the library on Judaism that did not deal with the subject included:

- ROSENTHAL, G.S. 1978 Many Faces of Judaism. Behrman House.
- ROSSEL, S. 1969 Judaism. Franklin Watts.

In contrast Angela Wood's book - 'Being A Jew' (Batsford Ltd 1987) raised the question of Jews and suffering.

82. David Scott Daniel in his book World War II (Ernst Penn Publ. 1966) makes brief mention of the Holocaust while Neill Thomson makes no mention of it at all in his book When I Was Young - World War II (Franklin Watts 1989). A third book in this category in the school library The Story of the Second World War (Oxford 1957) by Katherine Savage carries a substantial section on the Holocaust.
83. Library volumes included:
- DOLORES KOHL EDUCATION FOUNDATION
- 1981 Jewish Holidays and Shabbat. Illinois.
- STRASSFELD, S. and STRASSFIELD, M.
- 1980 The Third Jewish Catalog. J.P.S.A.

84. The librarian commented on pupils interest in the subject.  
I have a lot of requests ... yes ... but there has been a clear shift in this ... when I came to the school [20 years prior] there was very much greater interest in the war as war ... the tanks, the generals, and the battles (Interview 7: School Librarian).
85. Only a few books, for example from Karen Shawn's bibliography were present in the Weizmann School library. Shawn's list while not comprehensive did highlight the best contemporary volumes. Karen Shawn - 'A selective Review of Holocaust Literature for Students Grades 2 - 12' in Dimensions - A Journal of Holocaust Studies Vol. 8 No. 2 (ADL 1994).
86. Scope for creative writing was encouraged in language lessons and in Hebrew pupils wrote stories in which titles translate as - 'The Brave Boy (Std 5, 1979:19), 'A face in the Crowd' (Std 5, 1987:16), 'Tal and Ariel' (Std 4 1987:16), 'The War and I' (Std 5, 1986:97) and 'Children of Thereizenstadt' (Std 5, 1969:83). The adventure stories of the 1960s we replaced by more serious attempts to grapple with the subject, and thus 'A War Story' (Std 5, 1979:62) dealt with an imagined confrontation with a German soldier. In a similar way pupils poetry explored the significance of the subject. Poems written in 1990 intending to celebrate Israel also reflected the sense of survival and triumph over Nazi oppression.  
In 1948, celebration was in the air  
In the heart of every Jew, no more despair  
as independent Israel was made ...  
The army of Germany was defeated  
the Nazi name, now deleted ...  
( 'Our Jewish Heritage' by LC (Std 5), Herzlia Magazine 1990:63).  
  
Its our very own home where no one dare send us away  
because we belong here. ( 'Israel' by M.K. (Std 5) Herzlia Magazine 1990:63).
87. Examples included reviews in Hebrew, English and unusually also in Afrikaans. A selection of these follows:  
I Am David - 'makes one stop and realize what children went through during that period' (Weizmann School Magazine 1974:12)  
Friedrich - 'shows how miserable life was for the Jews in Germany and just because they were Jews.' (Translated from the original Hebrew review: Weizmann School Magazine 1974:90)  
Babi Jar - 'Die Duitse trokke het nooit opgedaag nie, en binne vyf minute soldate het met masjiengewere 2800 Jode platgeskiet.' (Weizmann School Magazine 1968:78)

88. A pupil reported on her visit to Yad Vashem:  
Yad Vashem ... is a place I shall always remember, but I shall never go there again (P.K. Std 5 Herzlia Magazine 1969:57).
89. This text by pupil N.S. in Standard Five exemplifies the type of writing that was created by pupils and is translated from the original Hebrew text.  
Children of Thereizenstadt  
Here there are no guns, but peace.  
No blood,  
but we are still in the hands of the enemy,  
Until we die.  
Where is mother? Father?  
I want to see them!  
Perhaps a day, a month, a year  
And what of my great hope  
to die in the land of Israel?

Example of a text by a Standard four:

Why we Remember  
We must remember the Jews that died  
Six million Jews were killed  
War, Misery, death  
Hatred  
Hitler the enemy, the killer, the conqueror.  
(S.B. Herzlia Magazine 1989:30).

90. In 1980 the child reporter added to the description:  
'Today it is very hard for us to believe how many of our people were killed. Soon there will be no more survivors ... we must always remember. (Herzlia Weizmann Magazine 1985:61).
91. Pupils had brought Time Magazine dated 17 August 1992 to Jewish Studies classes. This edition reported on ethnic cleansing and of President Bush's warning of 'a Nazi style Genocide'. The cover photograph showed emaciated Muslim prisoners in detention camps that were strongly reminiscent of photographs from the period of the Holocaust.
92. In response to the racial genocide in Bosnia a collection was made to fund a telegram of protest and outrage which was sent to the International Red Cross in Geneva. Pupils expressed shock at the news media visuals of emaciated prisoners of war and mass murders and the senior classes after discussion, devised a suitable text:  
Close the concentration camps in Bosnia  
-Do not be tricked as you were by the Nazis in Thereisenstadt in 1944-5  
Help heal Yugoslavia and try to stop the war  
From Jewish children at Herzlia School, Cape Town, South

Africa. (Telegram: 20 August 1992).

The reference to the Red Cross visits to Thereisenstadt in 1944-5 was discussed with the students. These visits were carefully orchestrated to create the impression that the ghetto was a Jewish resort. The programme of 'stadtverschönerung' (beautification) to convince the delegation included the reduction of overcrowding by sending inmates to their death at Auschwitz. Zdenek Lederer describes the visit in his chapter 'Terezin' in Avigdor Dagan - The Jews of Czechoslovakia (J.P.S. 1984:134-9).

The telegram was reported in the school magazine.

'We also helped raise money for a telegram in support of war-torn Bosnia. We expressed our alarm and outrage at the establishment of concentration camps in Yugoslavia and wrote of this to the International Red Cross.' (Herzlia Weizmann Magazine 1992:5).

93. This poster belonged to a series called 'Pillar of Fire' (World Zionist Organization 1984) recording the history of Zionism. Of the ten posters in this series first displayed in the school corridors in 1986, only four remained in 1993. This included the poster devoted to the subject of the Holocaust which hung in a central position in the corridor outside the school hall and passed by pupils each day. Being the sole poster representing the Holocaust, even if it was not selected as such, it merited closer examination (Appendix B.6.).

The poster headline read 'Holocaust Victims' and most of its surface was of an enlarged photograph of Zionist youth workers on a Polish farm preparing for pioneer work in Palestine. A matching text indicated that 100 000 such members of Zionist youth movements were murdered in the war. On the left in a narrow panel was a photo of Chana Lehrer which was used to represent the murdered children - 'Chana Lehrer from Minsk was one of the one and a half million children murdered in the Holocaust.' A photograph of Moshe Flinker, another victim, included a quotation from his diary - 'Only now do I understand how much we need a homeland.' A photograph of the statue honouring the Ghetto fighter, Mordechai Anielewicz was a tribute to those seeking an 'honourable death' through armed resistance. Similarly a photograph of Chana Senesh carried a caption highlighting her heroism. Such details revealed the overt Zionist ideology of the series and epitomized by the caption about Chana Senesh.

The Zionists persuaded the British army to allow 34 Jews to spy for the British and to save Jews ... of symbolic value to break through the barrier of helplessness. It was a new dimension for Zionism - the State of Israel would not be a refuge for the persecuted but a base from which aid could be despatched to Jews in distress (Pillar of Fire Poster Series. WZO 1984).

In this poster the Holocaust had been interpreted to support the Zionist message of the entire poster series, and not surprisingly the single-most recognizable victim of the Holocaust, Anne Frank, was not represented on this



poster, presumably because of her own universalist rather than Zionism worldview.

94. The exhibition at Weizmann, 'The Children We Remember' was created from the library book by the same name. Similarly a poster had been created at Herzlia Constantia which used the text of Pavel Friedman's poem 'I Never Saw Another Butterfly'. Friedman was a nine year old inmate of Thereisenstadt who perished at Auschwitz. The poetry and art work of the children of this ghetto was saved and published under the title of his poem 'I Never Saw Another Butterfly' edited by Hana Volavkova (1978).
  
95. The school places emphasis on exposing the children to the outside world (through field trips, visits to places of interest, exhibitions, etc.) and bringing the outside world (visiting speakers, performers, social agencies) into the school. Such programmes are chosen because of their relevance to what is being studied and because they are sources of enrichment (Herzlia Parents Guide 1993-4:7).
  
96. In 1993 for example a photographic exhibiton - 'A Day In The Life of The Warsaw Ghetto by Willy Georg (Spiro Institute, London), was exhibited at the Albow Jewish Community Centre in Cape Town. In early 1994 The South African National Gallery hosted two Holocaust related exhibitions:  
A Retrospective of the Works of Hanns Ludwig Katz  
The Photography of Alfred Eisenstaedt
  
97. A co-ordinating committee on behalf of the Jewish community of Cape Town and the South African Cultural Museum mounted an exhibition at the museum - The Holocaust Exhibition (17 April - 15 May 1985).
  
98. The Chairman of the Cape Town Holocaust Memorial Council explained the Holocaust Awareness Programme of 1992 and 1993.  
 We presented a two hour programme consisting of video film, slides, overview ... and there was also the art and sculpture exhibition by Herzlia art students and Ben Surdut's stamp collection [of the Holocaust]. But it was specifically addressed to history teachers and pupils in standard seven and matric (Interview13: Chairman C.T. Holocaust Memorial Council).  
 Although not visited as a school, numerous primary school pupils attended in a private capacity especially since their elder siblings in the Herzlia Middle and High Schools were directly involved in the art exhibition.
  
99. A teacher assisting the organizers commented:  
 They were going to house the exhibition in the Middle School [next to Herzlia Highlands Primary] but in the end they didn't. So we didn't visit - besides I didn't think it was suitable for them [the primary school pupils] ... it was too difficult ... it was too much (Interview 16: Teachers - Herzlia Highlands Primary).

100. Subsequent to this other local primary schools also visited and were assisted with worksheets prepared by the Herzlia teachers.

Through his weekly letter to parents the principal of Herzlia Weizmann encouraged younger pupils to visit the exhibition.

Tomorrow our Standard Fours will be visiting the Anne Frank Exhibition. I would urge you all to visit this remarkable display ... our Standard Two teacher D.F. is one of the official guides to the exhibition and will be at the National Gallery on Sunday 20 March and 3rd April (Newsletter to Parents 9 March 1994).

Many pupils did report visiting the exhibition or one of the ancillary events such as the theatre production 'Yours Anne'.

The play 'Yours Anne' was directed by Leonard Schach in 1994. Weizmann School had been offered a block booking for this production but because of mixed feelings of the staff about the appropriateness of the play which billed as a musical, this offer was not accepted.

101. This was evident in the bitter disappointment expressed by the pupils when in 1994 an unsuccessful attempt was made to have Anne Frank's childhood friend Hannah Pick Goslar, address the Standard Four pupils.
102. Almost all official visitors brought to Cape Town by the many communal organizations of the Jewish community were brought to the High School to address the senior pupils. In the field of the Holocaust these visitors included for example Prof Aubrey Newman, a Holocaust historian (1993), Hannah Pick Goslar (1994), Bertha Leverton - an expert on the Kindetransport (1994), Claude Lanzman - Director of Shoah (1994). Elie Wiesel was one of many such visitors in the 1970s. These visitors were in addition to the scholars-in-residence who taught Holocaust units at the school.
103. In a daring rescue mission they courageously brought 1200 Polish children [Holocaust orphans] from temporary camps in Teheran, to Palestine ... all Herzlia schools were visited and addressed (Cape Jewish Chronicle October 1993).
104. In 1993, for example, as preparation for the commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, a documentary was viewed and also a video about the life and work of Janus Korczak. The latter included a discussion about Korczak's philosophy of education and also the complexities of physical, spiritual and moral resistance. After the commemoration ceremonies in Warsaw CNN news coverage of the event was discussed as was the content of the local communal tribute held at Herzlia High School. In that same year a teacher reported to the seminar on director Claude Lanzman's lecture at Cape Town university on his film Shoah (1994). Revisionism, Holocaust denial and in particular the work of David Irving, were also subjects dealt with in these seminars for teachers.

105. All efforts at co-ordination across the schools were, at that time, exclusively focused on Jewish History in accordance with the prioritization established by the Director of Judaica.
106. The questionnaire completed by teachers in 1992 showed that most teachers did formally deal with the subject on the day of commemoration or during the days leading up to Yom Ha'Shoah. Teachers comments reflected this situation:
- I discuss it on the day
  - I deal with it on the day or the day before
  - In the lower primary there are no lessons [about it] and it only arises if the child asks about it (Teacher's Questionnaire).

At Herzlia Constantia where Jewish History had been separated from Jewish Studies and was taught by class teachers there was further confusion as to who was to teach the subject of the Holocaust. The uncertainty was evident in the conflicting responses of the teachers during their interviews.

- Discussion arose ... but as it was not dealt with formally and no materials were used. I felt that this was part of Jewish Studies which the rabbi teaches.
  - During English lessons I spoke about the Holocaust. I read the novel 'Number The Stars' to the class.
- (Interview 17: Jewish History staff Herzlia Constantia).

107. The Middle School Head of Jewish Studies noted the following:  
It is not formally taught in Jewish Studies although from year to year we change the input. Two or three years ago we had a visitor [scholar-in-residence]. We've also had it in Hebrew through stories. We also do it as part of the History syllabus.  
(Interview 10: Middle School J.S. Departmental Head).
108. In 1992 an exhibition of pupils work titled 'Monument To The Holocaust' was exhibited as part of the Holocaust Memorial Programme. Similarly in 1993 an in-house school publication was printed of free verse by pupils as part of the Warsaw Ghetto Commemoration.  
The writing was spontaneous, sincere and unsupervised, and some of it worthy of presentation - hence the booklet (J.S. Teacher-Editor: Introduction).
109. The Head of J.S. in the High School reported:  
The Holocaust is taught for a term in Standard Ten to all students for about 25 sessions of 50 minutes in the cycle. There is additional audio-visual and filmatic input of up to another five hours on Sunday mornings (Interview 9: Head of Jewish Studies, Herzlia High School).

110. In the years under review most scholars-in-residence were experts in the field of Holocaust or anti-semitism.
- |               |      |
|---------------|------|
| Baruch Gitlis | 1989 |
| Ely Dlin      | 1990 |
| Jan Darsa     | 1991 |
| Aubrey Newman | 1992 |
| Baruch Gitlis | 1993 |
111. The 'March of the Living' is a bi-annual tour which attracted varying responses largely due to the formidable costs.
- |   |
|---|
| 1988 - 17 Herzlia students, a teacher, the school principal |
| 1990 - 1 student  |
| 1994 - 4 students   |
112. Reflecting on his previous position as a teacher in the Middle School, the principal of Weizmann recalled the Memorial Day in that school.
- It was a high profile day - they had exhibitions, candle-lighting, a ceremony, films, individual candle lighting ... (Interview 4 : Weizmann Principal).
113. Thus in 1993 the local Jewish newspaper described a formal ceremony during the regular morning assembly that paralleled ceremonies in the other branches of the system.
- Yom Ha'Shoah was commemorated with a deeply moving candle-lit ceremony in the school hall. Solly Kaplinski, the headmaster, delivered a reading from his book on the Holocaust - Lost and Found. This was followed by Cantor Aryeh Rand, who invoked the memorial prayer 'Kel Malai Rachamin'. The service concluded with a short extract from the video of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (Cape Jewish Chronicle, June 1993).

This description did not differ significantly from reports of ceremonies in other years even as far back as 1973 when the principal at that time submitted a report on Herzlia commemoration to an international survey.

This was submitted by the then principal of the High School, Meyer Katz under the heading - 'A Typical Assembly Program for Holocaust Memorial Day' (Appendix: 98-99) in Eleazar Goelman - Teaching the Holocaust in Jewish Schools - A Survey (Graetz College Annual of Jewish Studies Vol II Graetz College 1973).

The above reference to Kaplinski's book Lost and Found is significant. Solly Kaplinski prepared and published a collection of Holocaust poems to honour the memory of his parents who had been Polish Jewish partisans. Other principals of Herzlia schools have also demonstrated their personal involvement in the subject. In 1995 the new principal of the High School delivered a number of lectures on the writings and theology of Elie Wiesel - the subject of his Honours dissertation.

114. The religious tone was reinforced by pupils who often reported in the school magazine not of a 'ceremony' but of a 'service' (Weizmann School Magazine 1968:20) (Herzlia Weizmann School Magazine 1977:5).
115. 'Memorial candles were placed in each class to remind us of the meaning of the sad day.' (Herzlia Weizmann School Magazine 1986:55).
116. Another ritual innovation that did not persist was the practice at Weizmann of sounding an alarm calling the school to attention for a minute's silence during the mid-morning and in keeping with the established custom in Israel. This was later absorbed into the ceremony itself and was not carried out separately because its impact was lost once the assembly dispersed into separate classes.

A further innovation related to this was the call to silence by blowing the ram's horn - the '*shofar*'. This moment was vested with solemnity by virtue of its association with the festival of the Jewish New Year and also its biblical role as a warning against danger.

The shofar was blown during the course of the day. This was the signal for the school to stand silently in memory of the dead (Herzlia Weizmann School Magazine 1986:55).

117. Greenberg reviews attempts at selecting an appropriate date for commemoration, the failure of earlier models especially the classical model of re-enacting historical events, and the difficulty in finding suitable ritual objects (Greenberg 1988, Chapter 10).
118. Standard traditions for mourning were suggested such as candles and prayers. Some students suggested a day of silence, fasting, or of chanting names of victims. One student called for six days of mourning.
119. Even while the teacher was reporting on this project in the interview, there was heated debate.
  - I am against this completely!
  - What! Would I write numbers on their arms to make them feel the same?(Interview 16: Teachers).

Complaints were also received from parents about this particular project.
120. Teachers reported on the impact even amongst the youngest children.

Every year the children come out of the ceremony with a new perspective even though it is only a smattering of an idea (Interview 16: Teachers).

Even though ceremonies often were intentionally brief they set the tone for the school for the entire day and created the appropriate atmosphere.

- They sensed it is something serious.
- Pupils left the hall very quietly.
- There was a sombre atmosphere.
- The ceremony was very dignified.

(Interviews 16; 17; 18: Teachers)

121. *Yom HaShoah* usually falls in the month of April or early May in accordance with the Jewish calendar where it occurs on the 27th of the month of *Nissan*.
122. In 1994 due to the exceptional circumstances of the watershed first democratic elections in South Africa, pupils enjoyed an extended holiday and returned to school on the eve of the next festival. The commemoration of *Yom HaShoah* was limited to brief mention at a school assembly.
123. This was also a function of the shift that relocated Standard Five pupils to the Middle School. Although involvement and responsibility for such ceremonies shifted to the Standard Four pupils, their more limited skills and maturity resulted in the teachers increasingly having to take over these duties.

University of Cape Town

## CHAPTER FIVE

1. The school prospectus emphasizes this:  
 At the centre of our educational programme is the child..  
 constantly encouraged to question, to observe and to  
 appreciate and to learn about the world ... (Herzlia Weizmann  
Parents' Guide 1993-4:6).  
 This approach was particularly emphasized in the Jewish Studies programme.  
 The Jewish Studies curriculum explores concepts and ideas.  
 Emphasis is placed on self expression and meaningful  
 discussion (Ibid:7).
2. This was noted by teachers in their interviews.
  - After the ceremony in the hall, I continued with the topic in class (Interview 17: Teachers - Herzlia Constantia).
  - The Standard Ones wanted more, they couldn't get enough; they said 'Morah (teacher), show us more, tell us more (Interview 16: Teachers - Herzlia Highlands).
3. Teachers comments included the following:
  - After that day of Yom Ha'Shoah, they came with books from the library, about Anne Frank and other books that they had taken out (Interview 16: Teachers - Highlands Primary).
  - They bring books for a few days afterwards, to discuss ... until the next event (Interview 16: Teachers – Highlands Primary).
4. Teachers explained:
 

T: Often they are seeing films which are horrific, they really shouldn't be watching them. Then they mention something in class and they tell you that they saw it and what they did [in the movie]. And you are sort of standing in the middle - what are you going to say?

M: Yes! They want to discuss it!

T: You get caught!

M: Yes! I've also got caught like that.

(Interview 18: Teachers - Herzlia Weizmann ).
5. At Highlands Primary the sensitivity of this issue was further complicated by parental involvement as was evident in the interview with teachers.
 

C: There was a problem with one child. During the assembly a child lifted up her hand and said: 'They took them into the showers and it wasn't water it was gas!' That one child had come forward to tell us - from the floor. A mother phoned me a few days later and told me that it had upset her child very much!

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L: She thought we'd said it!

C: She obviously thought that I had said it, but I explained to her that there is no ways that it would come from a teacher ... gory details we don't give them, God forbid. It had come from a child and the child could not understand how they could do such things. (Interview 16: Teachers - Herzlia Highlands).

6. The harrowing photographic book by Gerhard Schoenberger, The Yellow Star (Corgi 1969) resulted in such a response.

A boy's mother had given him the book to bring to class for discussion. The teacher discussed the book without opening it. In response to pupils requests to see the photographs the teacher explained that it was too upsetting for the teacher and probably for some children. The teacher placed it in the boy's case unopened. (Herzlia Weizmann 1994: Std Two).

A parallel experience occurred in both the other primary schools involving the same book by Schoenberger.

- A child brought a book and kept asking me to show the class. I browsed through it and told her that it was interesting. There was no way that I would show it to the class. It had those awful pictures of bodies (Interview 17: Teachers - Herzlia Constantia).
- One child brought the book and wanted to show the class. I said 'No! there are sensitive pictures.' I tried to explain but I was talking to the wall, so I took the book away. In Standard Four I showed them the book but not those offending pictures ... one said, '*Morah* (teacher) there are other pictures.' I answered, 'Yes! but you can look at it in privacy.' (Interview 16: Teachers - Herzlia Highlands).

The detail of such an incident not only illustrated the difficulties faced by the teacher but also revealed the problematic nature of the pupils interest when it becomes a ghoulish interest.

7. The school librarian explained:

Now all children like the supernatural and monsters and need to have this. They are often the children who want to read books on the Holocaust ... it grows by what it feeds on. One has to be very sensitive to this (Interview 7: School Librarian).

8. The Principal:

Children are ghoulish - if you give them a book on the Holocaust they will look for the worst pictures and spend time looking at them - and that will be the Holocaust for them (Interview 4: Principal).

9. The school librarian:

I had a child who only wanted more and more of this ... in his art and everywhere ... lots of children go through this stage but

I found this case to be obsessive (Interview 7: School Librarian).

10. A teacher at Highlands School verbalized this problem:  
I have a boy obsessed with it, you should hear the questions he asks! But I can't concentrate on the one or two – what do I do with the other twenty in the class? (Interview 16: Teacher – Herzlia Highlands).
11. The counsellors reported that children had experienced a lot of nightmares aroused by anxiety and fear about the socia-political situation but none of these had been related to the Holocaust (Interview 5: School Counsellor).
12. Pupils written work included regular class tests that brought no extra-ordinary or undue focus on the subject matter. To further avoid distortion, tests and written work were culled from different periods of the year and over a wide span of years (1989 - 1994). Essays written for general studies teachers and essay entries for a local competition in 1993 added further richness and insights.
13. Of the 17 pupils who were interviewed over the six month period (1992-93), seven students were interviewed individually while a further seven were interviewed in groups of three and four. Two students originally from Israel were interviewed separately. Interviews often began with initial hesitancy by students perhaps due to the audio tape and to their teacher as the interviewer, answers were curt and to the point. Pupils were more at ease and became enthusiastic when it was presented to them that their answers would help teachers in future planning. Group interviews offered pupils reassurance and pupils encouraged each other and even vied with each other to give answers. A final interview was carried out when a singular opportunity arose to investigate the impact of the BBC documentary, 'Genocide' (1975) on a Standard Three pupil whose parents had made her watch it (Interview 27).
14. Key terminology central to the subject recurred in most descriptions and included terms such as - 'six million Jews'; 'Hitler'; 'World War II'; 'concentration camps'; 'Nazis'; 'Germans' and 'anti-semitism'. Thus when asked to define the Holocaust a typical response was found in the following example - 'It was when six million Jews were killed by the Nazis in the Second World War.' The reference to the number 'six million' was almost universal amongst the pupils and many used the definite article - 'the six million' in order to secure the specificity of the reference.

One student wrote of 'five million and another one million children' (1992). During the entire study only one pupil quoted an incorrect figure of 'two million' (1994).

In contrast in each group of pupils there was a small percentage who were unable to define the Holocaust or to explain *Yom Ha'Shoah*.

Pupils unable to define 'Holocaust' or *Yom Ha'Shoah* each year:

1992 - Two of a group of 47 pupils

1993 - One of a group of 37 pupils

1994 - Two of a group of 33 pupils.

Others confused the day as being a memorial for fallen fighters which they confused with *Yom HaZikaron* - the memorial day for Israeli soldiers observed a week after *Yom Ha'Shoah*. Such confusion was not only the result of the proximity of these memorial days but was a function of the image of victim/fighters particularly in the focus on the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Thus one pupil wrote:

'The Ghetto fighters fought in the name of Israel' (Student Test Std Four: 1993).

15. For example In 1994 Standard four pupils were asked to select six topics from a list of ten which included the following - J.N.F. (Jewish National Fund); The Diaspora; 5755 (the Jewish year); *Kinnot* (lamentations); *Selichot* (prayers of penitence); Yitzchak Rabin; *Kol Nidrei* (*Yom Kippur* liturgy); Anne Frank; Theodore Herzl; *Hallel* (liturgy of praise).
16. Examples of these differing abilities were reflected in pupils responses in 1994 when many selected Anne Frank as their choice. Thirty one students of a total of 33 chose to write about Anne Frank. Similarly in 1992, 49 of 52 students chose Anne Frank as one of their eight choices from amongst a list of 12 topics. In 1992, nine of 37 students chose to write about the Warsaw Ghetto as one of their five choices from a list of ten topics.
  - Anne Frank was a Jewish girl who died in the Holocaust. She kept a diary so we know her story. lived in Holland.
  - Anne Frank hid in a secret room behind a bookshelf. She was found because someone betrayed her. She was one of 6 000 000 Jews who died in the Holocaust.

(Jewish Studies Tests, Std 4: 1994).

Despite having attended the special exhibition in that year, a number of students confused the basic details of her life. Some created her into a composite victim who 'hid, fought, was a slave labourer and who was gassed.' Others identified her as a symbol of the Holocaust victim.

  - Anne Frank reminded us about the Holocaust and what happened to the Jews - some survived and some died (Ibid).

In a few answers Anne Frank was confused with Chanah Senesh. Both Anne Frank and Chanah Senesh had kept diaries which had been published, these were available in the Weizmann library and were referred to during the lessons about the Holocaust.

  - She wrote a secret diary and she was a spy.
  - She was prepared to fight (Ibid).
17. Some pupils were unable to fully express their knowledge and understanding in a written form, while others relied on rote answers. Conversely there were also pupils who expressed insight and interpretive skills such as one child's comment added after a test question:

- I still can't believe how a human being can do such a terrible thing to another person.

18. The traditional rabbinical answer to this question would be *Yom Kippur* - the Day of Atonement, which is regarded as the holiest day in the Jewish calendar. Pupils were therefore specifically asked for their own opinion. Answers that could have been expected would have been the Celebration of Freedom (Passover), the *Torah* holidays of *Shavuot*/Pentecost or *Simchat Torah*, or the national holiday of *Yom Ha'Atzmaut* Israel's Independence Day. These alternatives did feature amongst their choices. But it was the unexpectedly high response of *Yom Ha'Shoah* in 1989 that originally alerted the researcher to the significance pupils placed on this day and on the subject of the Holocaust.
19. The following was the record per year of pupils' responses to the variously phrased question: 'Which, in your opinion, is the most important festival or commemoration day in the Jewish calendar?'

YEAR	STD	NO. OF STUDENTS	YOM HA'SHOAH (PERCENTAGE)	YOM HASHOA	PASSOVER	YOM KIPPUR
1989	5	50	34%	17	9	8
1992	5	51	20%	10	14	16
1992	4	54	29%	16	13	7
1993	4	37	24%	9	8	11
1994	4	33	33%	11	6	5

TABLE: Pupils' views of the most important festival or commemoration day.

20. One student negated the validity of this position:  
We can't prevent it, we don't even know why it happened the first time! (Std 5: 1989).
21. The combination of outrage, identification, commitment to continuity and to remembrance, were for example all present in a poem written in 1989 by a pupil in Standard Five:  
Facing death, marching, singing.  
Hitler, the Nazis, our enemies, our murderers.  
Six million gone, vanished.  
We, the Jews, we must remember ...
22. Close analysis of the reasons for rejecting a day of observance was pursued in 1994 and revealed that of those responding in this fashion (seven of thirty three pupils), motivations varied greatly. Three pupils felt it was harping on a tragedy and that this was not in the spirit of reconciliation. Two pupils felt it was too particularistic and failed to include the suffering of others. Another pupil expressed the view that a day of commemoration was redundant because a national day of mourning already existed on the traditional fast day of the

Ninth day of the Month of Av (albeit for the destruction of the Temple).

23. The Israeli pupils interviewed indicated that although their peers at Weizmann attended a Jewish school in their opinion their knowledge about the Holocaust was very limited.

They are not really knowing like in Israel were most people talk about it, children learn from birth. There is a whole day of it ... when you are an Israeli you know about it from nursery school (Interview 20: Israel pupils at Weizmann).

24. The questionnaire (Appendix H) was presented to parents as a means of improving the curriculum and parents' keenness to assist was reflected in the high return of 41 responses of a total of 53 families. Responses were completed by a mother or father but not necessarily as a couple. Significantly two-thirds of the parents indicated that they had more than one sibling in the school which added to the conviction that these parents of Standard Four pupils were representative of the entire parent body of the school.

25. Parental opinions and expectations had also been the subject of a system-wide, school survey carried out for the school administration in 1992-93 which offered insights on a more global level.

The full report was prepared as an in-house publication by the Director of Judaica - Report on a study into parental expectations of day school education by I Mann and M Slone (Herzlia, June 1992).

26. Twenty-one of the forty-one respondents had suffered a family loss in the Holocaust.
27. Within the Hebrew and Jewish Studies staff complement at Weizmann, three-quarters of the staff reported the loss of grandparents or close family members. This was also true of more than one-third of the school's entire staff complement.
28. The limitations of the short responses in the survey became evident during the more penetrating individual interviews of parents, for example, one mother explained that her son was named in honour of his late grandfather, a sole survivor. Another parent knew of no members of her family who had perished, but during the interview indicated that her family had been involved but were saved by being smuggled out of danger. A third respondent had also originally reported of no family losses, but later added that an aunt had married a survivor.
29. Two Dutch brothers hidden as children in Holland during the war had three offspring in the school at the time of the survey. Another pupil's father had been hidden in Poland as a child. He donated a school bus to Weizmann School in the 1980s to honour the memory of the rest of his family who were victims of the Holocaust.

30. Thirteen of the forty-one respondents indicated that they had attended a lecture.
31. Twenty-one of the forty-one respondents had visited a Holocaust Memorial. This was also reflected in the response from pupils who remembered the impact of their visit to places such as Yad Vashem.  
 When I was in Standard One I went to this place [in Israel].  
 They were calling out names and it was very dark (Interview 19: Pupil).
32. Nineteen of the forty-one respondents had attended a Holocaust film in the weeks prior to the survey. The film most commonly mentioned in 1993 was the dubbed German film 'Europa Europa' (1991). A year later in 1994 almost the entire parent body had viewed 'Schindler's List' (1994).
33. A number expressed regret at not attending - 'we should attend'; 'my teenage daughters attend' and 'my father attends'. More than half the parents also stated that they were not opposed to their children attending the ceremony at the cemetery. One mother did however express reservation during the interview by stating that the primary school child was too young for such exposure.  
  
 Twenty-four of the forty-one respondents stated that they would allow their children to attend the ceremony. Twenty-two parents indicated that disregarding financial constraints, they would approve of their child's participation in a High School trip to Poland.  
 - I encouraged my Standard Nine daughter even though the cost was prohibitive (Interview 3: Parent H).
34. In 1995 the vast majority of Weizmann families (90%) lit the memorial candles received at the school as part of a Cape Town Holocaust Memorial Council project. Similar responses were recorded at the sister primary schools.
35. For example one event stated:  
 - We initiated it by bringing the child into contact with a survivor (Interview 3: Parent H).
36. Parents noted:  
 - She was sensitive to the bombing in Argentina [of the Jewish Community Centre] and of anti-semitism in general (Interview 1: Parent M).  
 - it comes up especially when they've done something in school (Interview 2: Parent D).  
 Parental comments were corroborated by pupils during their interview.  
 - My dad tells me when I ask questions.  
 - My parents are very open, they discuss everything (Interviews 19: Pupils).  
 Some parents stressed their openness with their children and their desire not to withhold any details.

- They have been told what happened, even about the letter from the Red Cross - that my husband's aunt was killed - every single thing (Interview 2: Parent D).
37. For example:
- He asked how God let it happen (Interview 2: Parent D).
38. Thirty-eight of the respondents stated that they would allow their children to watch Holocaust related films and videos.
39. Twenty-four respondents said that they actively encouraged their children to watch. A further seven parents expressed reservations that depended on their child's own interest, and a further nine parents indicated that they would let their children decide to watch such videos.
- She looks for such videos herself (Interview 1: Parent M).
  - I've called him to see things on M.Net [Cable Television] (Interview 3: Parent H).
40. In 1994 this focused on the topical film, Schindler's List which carried an age restriction of eighteen years. Thus, for example, one parent in her interview asserted that she would seek the guidance of the child's teachers regarding Holocaust related videos, and that she would abide by the age restrictions recommended by the film industry.
- I took my daughter of ten to see the Anne Frank play ... but not a movie if there is an age restriction - it's there for a reason! I vet the videos and I definitely wouldn't take her to see Schindler's List (Interview 1: Parent M).
- This response contrasted sharply with the attitude of another parent who was interviewed.
- I would have no hesitation in taking children to see the Anne Frank exhibition. I would also like my son [of ten years] to see Schindler (sic). On being reminded of the age restriction recommended for Schindler's List she became adamant:
  - Then I'll get the video ... the children have got to be exposed to it (Interview 2: Parent D).
41. In this survey the Director of Judaica sought to determine parental values regarding Jewish education and the testing of changing definitions of parents' expectations and attitudes in relation to the school's national/traditional ideology.

The survey received a response from 250 parents from the entire school system (21,5%). Five domains had emerged from the initial 27 semi-clinical interviews that preceded drawing up the questionnaire, these included: Religion; local community; Hebrew; Zionism; and Jewish History. Choices presented to parents for rating were the following - Judaism as a guide to life; Hebrew for ritual and religious practice; Understanding of the Holocaust; Understanding of Jewish practices; Performing Jewish Practices; and Knowledge of Israel and its Defence. The survey was presented under the title



- 'Report of a Study into Parental Expectations of Day School Education' (Mann and Slone: 1992), and appeared in an abridged form in Herzlia Headlines Issue 49 (1993:3).

42. The findings stated - 'It was considered important to be knowledgeable of the Holocaust' (Mann and Slone 1992:22), but this underscored its rating as second only to the category 'Judaism as Guide to life/Hebrew for ritual practice' and ahead of 'Commitment to Israel' and 'Understanding and practice of ritual'. The results of the questionnaire took on further significance regarding the Holocaust, when the same questionnaire was administered to Herzlia matriculants. The highest ranking category chosen by those students was - 'A thorough knowledge of the Holocaust' followed by 'Adequate knowledge to defend Israel against detractors' and then 'Synagogue rituals' (Mann and Slone 1993:3).

In the cluster analysis of the full report in the section of Jewish History, the Holocaust scored 4.2, as opposed to 'Israel' 4; an overview of Israel 3.8; Ancient Jewish History 3.1; and Medieval Jewish History 2.5 (Mann and Slone: 1992). While the report stressed that parental preference did not establish the norms of Jewish education, it did highlight what parents considered central to Jewish education from the vastness of Jewish culture and Judaism.

43. Thirty-three of the forty-one respondents wanted the Holocaust to be taught in the primary school. Some parents did add conditions such as the necessity of 'teaching with sensitivity' and of not giving 'too much detail'. While three respondents had not given a response to this particular question, two parents felt that Standard Seven was an appropriate age to introduce the subject, one parent suggested Standard Nine and five parents were emphatic in their belief that exposure in the primary school was 'too soon'.

They are too young - I'd give it [the Holocaust] a 0-16 [age restriction] rating (Parents answer: Weizmann Questionnaire 1992).

44. Parental comments included the following:
- They should get more of it because it's something they will discuss all their lives (Interview 3: Parent H).
  - They aren't getting enough in the primary schools (Interview 2: Parent D).
45. The definition of anti-semitism was intentionally left open to interpretation. Parents were asked to give examples of anti-semitism they had experienced in order to understand their definitions. These ranged from the casual anti-semitic remark to more blatant provocations and confrontations. Amongst the nineteen parents who reported being subjected to anti-semitism most reported of casual anti-semitism, for example, during army training and in business. They described it as 'minimal', 'not serious', 'limited', 'minor' and 'low key'. But more than half identified a threat in Neo-Nazi activities in South Africa. Asked if they thought the Holocaust could recur twenty one of the forty

respondents replied in the affirmative:

- if it happened once it could happen again
- mankind hasn't changed
- I hope not but it could happen again

(Weizmann Questionnaire, 1992: Parental Responses).

Amongst the eighteen parents who felt it could not recur, reasons given for their answers were very diverse and some indicated that a latent threat persisted but it would not be allowed to succeed.

- There is still a lot of anti-semitism around
- No, it won't recur, not necessarily to the Jews
- Not in the same format
- Israel will stop it

(Weizmann Questionnaire, 1992: Parental Responses).

The case study coincided with the period of pre-election instability in South Africa in 1992-4, when neo-Nazi and right wing activities reached a peak. These included marches, demonstrations and other extra-political manifestations which were often expressed in violence and terror attacks. Twenty-two of the forty-one respondents sensed a threat in the contemporary neo-Nazi activities. Some acknowledged the need for caution while other parents were more apprehensive.

- it shouldn't be ignored!
- right now it's not too serious!

(Weizmann Questionnaire, 1992: Parental Responses).

46. The vast majority lived in the urban sprawl of Johannesburg and with less than one-fifth residing in Cape Town. In 1991 Allie Dubb estimated that the Jewish community had 106 000 souls, at 0,3% of the 'white population' and the Cape Town community numbering 20 000 (Dubb 1994:38).

In terms of world Jewry the South African community was regarded as a medium sized community. The World Jewish Congress reported the following figures for 1990:

USA - 5,8 million; Israel - 4,42 million;  
 France 600 000; Russia - 600 000; Ukraine - 446 000; Canada - 360 000;  
 Britain - 300 000;  
 Argentina - 250 000; South Africa - 114 000;  
 Australia - 100 000; Brazil - 100 000

(Jerusalem Report: 4 May 1995).

Although founded by German and English Jews the majority of South African Jews trace their origin to Lithuania which they left at the turn of the century due to impoverishment and persecution (1880 – 1930).

Shimoni estimated that 75% of South African Jewry originated from the area of Greater Lithuania (Shimoni 1980:7). Close ties were maintained with the mother community in Lithuania until its demise in World War II. As in the case of other 'frontier societies' the immigrant Jewish community developed shared characteristics, (Elazar:1983) but also unique features, which were influenced and shaped by the unfolding events in South Africa.

47. Though in 1987 the principal of the high school called for re-evaluation of the formula, it was preserved.

The national-traditional label ... was broad enough to stand for everything, everyone and every group within our community. I would like to be so bold as to suggest however that given the times we are living in, the changes in our Jewish community; the 1950s definition of National-Traditional education may have to be applied differently in the 1990s and beyond in order for the educational objectives of the Day School Movement to have a significant impact upon its clientele (Herzlia Headlines 1987:1).

48. Held at the community's cemetery the ceremony involved poetry readings, candle-lighting by survivors, guest speakers, memorial prayers and songs where the podium was shared by rabbinical and lay leadership and the ambassador of Israel, and traditional liturgy combined with the last-post and the Israeli flag and anthem.
49. In addition to representatives from the religious and secular organisation, there were also representatives at the podium from the small *Sephardi* community, and also from the Jewish Reform Congregation despite internecine attitudes that generally prevailed.

The Sephardi community of Spanish Jewish origin established a small community in Cape Town in the late 1960s situated adjacent to Herzlia Weizmann School. Most families suffered the loss of close relatives when 1659 of the community of 1820 souls of Rhodes and Cos were deported or drowned. Unlike many other Sephardi and Oriental Jewish communities that escaped unscathed, this Sephardi community was acutely aware of its loss especially through the presence of many survivors in the community (Franco 1994).

Hellig estimated that the Reform community in 1984 was approximately 18% of the entire Jewish community (Hellig 1984:102). She noted that this form of communal unity had already been established in 1965 and had since become entrenched.

A reform minister was permitted to sit on the same platform as an orthodox minister at the annual memorial for the Holocaust organized by the [Jewish] Board of Deputies (Hellig 1984:111).

50. These figures are based on reports in the Cape Jewish Chronicle 18th April 1993.
51. In addition to the 8000 refugees from Nazi Germany who reached South Africa before 1939 and the few hundred arriving during the war, 1512 war refugees gained entry into South Africa between 1946-48. (Shain 1996:667). The 'Aliens Bill' of 1937 restricted immigration reducing the

number of refugees to 220 in the years 1940-44 (Shimoni 1980:145). Reference is made to the German refugees by Marcus Arkin (1989:180) and their integration and impact is described in Jewish Affairs (1966:17-22).

Unlike the large number of survivors and their conspicuous presence in Jewish communities in Australia, Latin and Northern America, survivors in South Africa were a small and diverse group that scattered and integrated into the communities throughout Southern Africa including what was then the Congo and Rhodesia.

The local communities received the survivors and sought ways to assist them. One example was the issue of reparations. A major undertaking was the assistance to survivors resident in South Africa to lodge claims for compensation for loss of property and possessions against the government of West Germany. This was undertaken by the Restitution Office established by the South African Board of Deputies (Feldman 1995:192).

52. This was an international organization of survivors which represented their interests and acted as a support system both as a social circle and as a substitute in the absence of an extended family.

A daughter of a survivor confirmed this and described an annual lunch gathering which took place after the public ceremony marking Yom Ha'Shoah. Although not all survivors attended, there was a spirit of a family gathering. In Johannesburg a small congregation *Eitz Chayim* (literally 'The Tree of Life') was established in Berea in 1960 by survivors who appointed a rabbi who was himself a survivor.

Established in 1948, the Cape Town branch increased to 46 members in 1976 as survivors from other parts of Southern Africa gravitated toward Cape Town to escape political unrest in their adoptive countries (Feldman 1995:192). Members of *She'arith Ha'Pleitah* were always accorded an honoured role in lighting the memorial lights at the annual commemoration.

53. Under the patronage of Steven Spielberg an international project was undertaken in 1995. An earlier project began in 1981 involving university students - called S.H.I.P. (Student Holocaust Interviewing Project) resulted in a publication of testimonies of survivors living in Cape Town. Conceived as a '*memoirbuch*' to also honour the victims, the edited volume - '*In Sacred Memory*' (Schrire:1995), reflected the diverse background and experiences of the survivors. This publication had also brought to fruition the desire by the survivors to bear testimony and to serve as a resource for Holocaust education and memorialization before their passing, and in the face of Holocaust denial.

This was the same message repeatedly expressed at the launch of the book *In Sacred Memory* (Schrire:1995) in 1995. It was also reiterated by survivors in a South African documentary *To Bear Witness* NNTV-SATV 1995 (Cape

54. The Memorial Council Chairman noted:  
The only [other] Holocaust organization that I know of is Yad Vashem in Johannesburg, it calls itself the South African Yad Vashem but we are independent of them (Interview 13: Chairman Cape Town Holocaust Memorial Council).
55. The Sephardi Synagogue has a plaque honouring the martyrs of Rhodes and Kos in whose memory the synagogue was established. In the Green and Sea Point Hebrew Congregation hall the plaque reads: 'The Max and Rose Leiserowitz Hall in memory of sister Zipporah and sister-in-law Yetta and their families who perished in the Holocaust.'
56. The Chairman explained the motivation for establishing the Memorial Council:  
It was felt that there should be a specific body that would look at Holocaust education and commemoration in Cape Town, especially in the light of the fiftieth anniversaries that were ahead. The Council came into being in 1978 (Interview 13: Chairman Ibid).  
The Memorial Council left all matters of antisemitism and defamation to the Cape Jewish Board of Deputies. The Council was also not the organizing body for the annual commemoration which was co-ordinated jointly by the Union of Orthodox Synagogues and the Board of Deputies.
57. The Council promoted study groups, exhibits, lectures and outreach programmes. Lectures were often a component of the exhibition programmes such as the series of lectures by Dr J Hellig and Prof B Steinberg in the programme 'Lest We Forget' in 1992. In the following year the previously described outreach programme enhanced the exhibition Courage to Remember and the high profile 1994 exhibition Anne Frank In The World was complemented by a multitude of ancillary activities.

Working independently or in collaboration with The Isaac and Jessie Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies (University of Cape Town), the Council brought a number of Holocaust experts to Cape Town where they offered well attended courses and lectures.

The following list of guest lecturers giving courses and public lectures at the Kaplan Centre illustrates the variety and amount of exposure the Holocaust received:

- |             |  |
|-------------|--|
| 1990 -      | Dr Wolf Mankowitz (Hebrew University) -<br>lecture series                              |
| 1991 -      | Dr David Bankier (Hebrew University) -<br>lecture series                               |
| 1993 -      | Prof Aubrey Newman (Leicester University)<br>- 'Historiography and the Holocaust'.     |
| 1994 June - | Dr Steven Ascheim (Hebrew University)<br>'Current trends in Holocaust Historiography'. |

- April - Dr Shalmi Barmor - (Yad Vashem) – 'Placing Oscar Schindler in Historical Perspective'.
- August - Prof Sandar Gilman - Paper at the 1994 Conference 'Literary Responses to the Holocaust' (Hebrew Dept/Kaplan Centre UCT).
- August - Prof Steven Katz – 'Uniqueness of the Holocaust : Rescue and Resistance'.
- 1995 - Dr Milton Shain – 'Antisemitism in South Africa'.

58. For example the Sephardi Synagogue hosted an intimate memorial service on 4 August 1994 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the deportation of the Jews of Rhodes and Kos. Another example was the 'Living Newspaper' panel discussion held in 1993 which was devoted to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising - held at Herzlia High School attracting an audience of over 500 people.

59. A full page advertisement of memorial commemorations was inserted as a flyer in the 1993 and 1994 editions prior to the respective memorial days.

The Cape Holocaust Memorial Council submitted a regular column and the Holocaust featured regularly in the book and video reviews submitted by the community's Gitlin Jewish Library.

60. Editions of these journals were available for the community at the Jewish library and were available for teachers at the Herzlia schools. The subject of the Holocaust was also a recurring topic in school publications such as the Herzlia Headlines and Chinnuch.

For example - the Herzlia Headlines - Issue 48 (Oct 1992) reported on the official launch of the principal's book of poetry 'Lost and Found'. The October 1994 edition contained a report on High School involvement in the 'March of the Living' tour to Poland; Chinnuch Vol 3 No 1 covered an article by a primary school principal, 'Confronting 20th Century Genocide'.

61. This was evident in the previously mentioned portrait of Anne Frank on posters used to raise funds for Russian Jewry, similarly a flyer with a photograph of Oscar Schindler was used in 1994 again expressing the plight of Russian Jewry through Holocaust imagery. It was for this same purpose that guest speakers brought to South Africa to promote fundraising drives were often representative of Jews rescued from the Holocaust. Thus in 1993 Rachel and David Laor brought their story of the rescue of the 'Teheran children', and in 1994 the emissary, Bertha Leverton, was a child refugee of the pre-war kindertransporte.

62. Both the Jewish Religious Instruction Department and the Cape Board of Education serving Jewish pupils in government schools were restricted to a few hours of tuition a week and neither structure had been conducive to the development of programmes and units for Holocaust education. In contrast

the Jewish Youth movements were not bound by rigid curricular requirements but this had resulted in an arbitrary approach based on the interest and random decisions of the youth leaders, and subsequently no structured units had emerged.

63. This position was born out in the comments of the Chairman of the Cape Town Holocaust Memorial Council:

We haven't given the primary schools any consideration, really!  
(Interview 13: Chairman).

Pre-occupied with its wide range of activities for the High School level and for adult education, the Council had tended to overlook the primary schools. Resolving to address this gap, the Chairman of the Council sought representation of the primary schools on the council and to place the primary schools on its agenda.

It hasn't been on our agenda ... but I don't see how it could possibly be outside our work. (Interview 13: Chairman).

64. Shimoni describes the background and the impact of these Bills on the Jewish Community (Shimoni: 1980:97 and 103).

65. Todd Endelmann defined 'Public Anti-semitism':

The eruption of anti-semitism in political life ... in matters of policy and manipulation of anti-semitism for partisan political ends where the axioms of Jew hatred were translated into forms appropriate to the national context in which they were expressed (Endelmann 1986:104).

Endelmann contrasted this definition of 'Public Antisemitism' with 'Private Antisemitism' which he defined in the following way:

The expression of contempt and discrimination outside the realm of public life that includes beliefs of persons and groups who were content to express their dislike for Jews in private acts of contempt and exclusion (Endelmann 1986:104).

66. Patrick Furlong in his book Between Crown and Swastika investigated the influence of Nazism on the right-wing, and the growth of fascist movements in South Africa. Movements such as the Greyshirts and the Ossewabrandwag at their peak reached a membership of over 200 000 (Furlong 1991:4).

Furlong argues that the Nationalist Party which would ultimately govern South Africa for more than four decades, did not merely co-opt the estranged radical right, but was also influenced by them.

Furlong devotes an entire chapter of his book to the issue of Jewish immigration and Nationalist Antisemitism (Furlong 1991:Chapter 2).

South African Jewry in the 1930s was well aware of this popular anti-semitism which was not only a threat to themselves but also mitigated against the desperate struggle for European Jewish refugees to find refuge in South

Africa.

This was played out in South Africa in the 'Stuttgart incident'. The Stuttgart was a ship of refugees from Germany which arrived in Cape Town in October of 1936. The 570 refugees were faced with an antagonistic Greyshirt mob which tried unsuccessfully to prevent their entry into South Africa (Furlong 1991:62).

67. The community supported the pro-British position of the government under General Jan Smuts and as many as 10,000 South African Jewish servicemen voluntarily served with the Allied forces during the ensuing war. This figure represented more than 10% of the community; of the 10,000 who served 357 perished during the war (Shain 1996:675).

68. The community's fears for the safety of European Jewry in the face of Hitler's anti-semitic fascism were well founded and this was confirmed by the devastating news of the destruction of the Lithuanian Jewry.

News reached South Africa of the particularly brutal pogroms that took place in the rural areas from which South Africa Jewry had hailed. These were carried out in some cases by Lithuanian Nationalist partisans even prior to the arrival of the Nazi forces in 1941. Most of the townlets were rendered *Judenrein*. Some of the Jews perished or were killed in the localities and still others were taken to ghettos. Of a population of 250 000 of greater Lithuania only 6000 - 7000 are believed to have survived (Greenbaum 1995:345).

69. The Nationalist Party under D.F. Malan won political victory in the 1948 elections in South Africa. Despite his earlier support for Nazism by 1943 Malan had distanced himself from the Axis - and its impending defeat.
70. One of the first acts of the new Nationalist Government in 1948 was to extend de jure recognition to the newly established State of Israel. This reapproachment may have appeared contrived to many, but it was to a large extent quite genuine. To be sure the Nationalist Party needed the Jews in order to create and maintain a united 'white' community (Elazar: 1983:183). This position was sustained by later leaders of the Nationalist Party throughout its subsequent decades in power and even during the period of strained relations when Israel took an anti-South Africa stance in the 1970s, and despite the disproportionate number and the prominence of individual Jews who actively resisted Apartheid and Nationalist rule.

Thus Nationalist Prime Minister J B Vorster, originally a pro-Nazi sympathizer, reaffirmed the government's position through a visit to Israel in 1976. The visit included the lighting of a memorial lamp at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.

71. Shimoni, in describing the relationship of South African Jewry to Apartheid, pointed to the Board's position of political neutrality as a characteristic response of a minority group attempting self-preservation. It was pre-



occupied with its own security and very conscious of past and latent antisemitism. South African Jewry found itself in a highly deterministic situation with little room to manoeuvre (Shimoni 1988:57).

72. Writing in the 1980s Shimoni states:

As the 1980s begin, the organized Jewish community feels more comfortable politically than at any time since the 1930s ... and more integrated than ever into South African society (Shimoni 1980:362).

This is confirmed by the findings of Allie Dubb in his survey of Johannesburg Jewry.

Today overt anti-semitism is barely discernible and has little direct effect on the day to day lives of South African Jews (Dubb 1977:129).

73. Dubb discusses these perceptions:

The constant threat of anti-semitism is an aspect of Jewish reality even in the absence of official or serious unofficial anti-semitism (Dubb 1977:129).

Shain reaches a similar conclusion and points to the role of the Holocaust in the psyche of the community:

Despite the comfort enjoyed by the community ... they could not obliterate the memory and trauma of the war years. The Holocaust was firmly rooted in the South African Jewish consciousness (Shain, 1996:678).

74. Examples of publication which were imported into South Africa included Arthur R Butz - The Hoax of the 20th Century (1975) and Richard Harwood - Did Six Million Really Die? The Truth At Last (1970). This latter publication was banned in South Africa in 1976 and furthermore the Jewish Board of Deputies sponsored a response by Dennis Diamond and Arthur Sussman - Six Million Did Die - The Truth Shall Prevail (1976).

75. Each of the Israeli Wars - The War of Independence (1948); the Six Day War (1967) and the Yom Kippur War (1973) were perceived as direct threats to Israeli and to Jewish survival. These perceptions were supported by Arab War rhetoric and propaganda. This was again reinforced in the Gulf War (1991) with Iraqi threats of chemical warfare and the 'gassing' of the Jewish State.

76. Attempts were made to contextualize these outbursts and to explain them within the wider struggle of minority groups in the emerging 'New South Africa'. This was expressed by the Chief Rabbi of South Africa, Rabbi Cyril Harris as reported in the Jewish Chronicle (London, Feb 29 1990).

We are not fighting on our own, and there are many minority groups - a formula has to be found to cater for them.

Writing of this period of transition Steven Friedman observed:

There are fears about the status of the Jewish community. These have been raised by the growth in violent right-wing

anti-semitism and by statements on the Middle East by ANC leaders (Jewish Affairs April 1991:5).

The Anti-semitism World Report (Lerman and Spier 1994) for 1993 stated the following about South Africa:

Most of the antisemitic incidents of 1993 were linked to the AWB ... extensive international links with the far right were evident in the assassination of Chris Hani. There were small white supremacists or neo-Nazi movements and allies such as the Blanke Bevryingsbeweging, World Preservatist Movement, the Afrikaner National Socialist Movement - but these are all small groups of little consequence (Lerman and Spier 1994:191).

77. For example Dawood Kahn of the Western Cape Regional Committee Executive of the ANC made such a comment for which he was later suspended - 'Hitler should have killed all the Jews' (Quoted in Lerman and Spier 1994:191). Other examples are found in a labour dispute in 1994. Striking Pick 'n Pay supermarket workers shouted slogans such as 'Mr Ackerman remember Adolf Hitler!' and in a dispute at Highlands House Jewish Aged Home in Cape Town in 1993-4. Slogans such as 'Away with the Jews' were repeatedly bandied about.
78. The Anti-semitism World Report (Lerman and Spier, 1993) had already noted this trend in its 1992 report. The report also pointed out that intensification did not occur in isolation from other developments and was linked to the collapse of communism; the rise of nationalism; anti-semitism in public discourse; denial of the Holocaust; trials and test cases with their publicity; and in anti-semitism masquerading as anti-Zionism.

The Antisemitism World Report stated:

The perceptions widespread among Jews and non-Jews that in certain parts of the world the anti-semitic climate has markedly worsened since the beginning of the 1990s, is confirmed by the evidence. Anti-semitism has become the spoken and unspoken lingua franca of exclusionists and xenophobic politicians ...

Anti-semitism without Jews became a catchphrase that demonstrates that fear of anti-semitism, like anti-semitism itself has little to do with the presence of Jews (Lerman and Spier 1994: Introduction).

79. The recurring media interest and reportage are evident in an inventory of articles from the local press, gathered over a period of two years (1992-94). These articles related directly or indirectly to the subjects of antisemitism, Nazism and the Holocaust (Appendix C.4., Newspaper articles).

The following is a sampling of the diversity in types of coverage all of which were brought to the classroom by pupils at Weizmann:

- Personality Magazine - 'Stop This Outrage Now by Harvey

Thomas. This covered the incident of anti-semitic attacks on a Jewish member of the Boksburg Council (16 April 1990).

- Cape Argus - 'Antisemitism On The Rise' by Jean Le May (30 July 1994).
- Jewish Chronicle (London) - 'Swastika bearing Afrikaner' (Headline) ... for a second time within a week Pretoria was the scene of anti-semitic demonstrations by members of the AWB militant Afrikaner wing of the Conservative Party (Photographs included) (23 Feb 1990).

80. Over half the parents responding to the questionnaire at Weizmann indicated having experienced some form of anti-semitism and also sensed a threat in Neo-Nazi activities current at that time. While parents and grandparents with their personal experiences were more likely to be sensitive to such manifestations, the pupils in contrast by virtue of their young age and because they were cosseted in a Jewish environment, were largely protected from direct anti-semitism.

This was not always the case and a Standard Two pupil transferring from a small rural school had submitted the following entry to the school magazine of 1993:

I am a Jew. In my other school there were seven children in my class. There was a boy who used to say ugly things to me, he teased me because I am a Jew. My brother and I were the only Jews in the school (Herzlia Weizmann School Magazine, 1993).

81. They revealed their concern in class discussion where they brought news articles and raised questions. Pupils also expressed their concern in their written work and in the interviews carried out for this study.

- You know in South Africa they are racialistic (sic). I mean something could happen and they could turn against the Jews.
- I was watching the news. Eugene Terreblanche doesn't like the Jews, they probably think we are responsible for Hitler's death.

(Interviews 21 - 27: Std Four Pupils at Weizmann).

Pupils did not always make a direct connection between the Holocaust, Neo-Nazism and the contemporary anti-semitic sentiments expressed at the time. But when given the opportunity to discuss these and in the process of probing pupils, students connected these facets and in expressing their apprehension, they did so in terms of the Holocaust.

- On the news there is a new party, they've got a sign that looks like a swastika.
- I am sure there are a lot of Nazis in South Africa.
- There may be another Hitler around.
- I don't know if there are Neo-Nazis but I know they are against the Jews in South Africa; and they have swastikas.

(Interviews 21 - 27: Std Four Pupils at Weizmann).

In the interview of pupils for this study only one student volunteered the name

Terreblanche, but when the name was mentioned to them most pupils recognized it from the current news. Of the eleven pupils interviewed two did not recognize his name, though all pupils could explain terms such as 'antisemitism'; 'Nazi' and 'swastika'.

82. An example of a vicarious incident, related to pupils by their siblings in the Herzlia High School was the arrival of a truck of AWB supporters who parked opposite the High School and baited the pupils. Weizmann pupils related the incident in their classes the following day. Pupils interviewed remembered:
  - They came around in trucks and masks and they looked like Nazis.
  - You get scared. I think they can hurt you.
 (Interviews 21 - 27: Weizmann pupils).
83. Historical revisionism and Holocaust denial for example received an added boost in 1992 and 1993 with the well attended public lectures and tour of revisionist historian David Irving.
84. For example the following exhibitions which were all housed at the SA National Gallery in 1994:
  - Anne Frank In The World
  - A Retrospective of the Work of Hans Ludwig Katz
  - The Photography of Alfred Eistenstaedt
85. For example plays included Joshua Sobol's Ghetto in 1991; Charles Fourie's Demanjuk in 1992; Leonard Shach's Yours Anne in 1994; and Anne Frank and Us by the University of Cape Town Drama School in 1994.
86. The Holocaust was however a minimal aspect of these syllabi and Shain suggested that in some classroom interpretations Hitler was portrayed as 'a successful social reformer'. (Shain 1996:684).
87. The Holocaust Awareness Programme was presented by the Council at the Albow Brothers Community Centre in April, July and August of 1992 and again in July - August of 1993.
 

The Government School Holocaust programme was initiated three years ago and that was done with the Gitlin Library because for a number of years they had a sort of programme of their own where they offered government schools, films, speakers and so forth ... this was developed into a more substantial project. We made certain acquisitions from the Simon Wiesenthal Centre which we used as the exhibition aspect of the programme though this was not the main thrust. We presented a two hour programme consisting of videos, film, slides and an overview (Interview 13: Chairman: Cape Town Holocaust Memorial Council).

Cape Jewish Chronicle reported that in 1993 more than one thousand students

from sixteen schools had attended the Holocaust Awareness Programme in that year. In 1994 this Awareness Programme was extended and in conjunction with the South African National Gallery the Anne Frank In The World Exhibition raised awareness of the consequences of prejudice and racism, and was eventually viewed by 150 000 people as it travelled to major centres throughout South Africa (Cape Jewish Chronicle Vol. 12 No. 18 Sept. 1995).

88. Two examples reflect this trend:

- 'End the holocaust of poverty in Chile' The Cape Argus (Oct 15 1994).
- 'A kind of holocaust mentality has set in', from an article on Aids in Newsweek (January 18 1993).

89. Shain cites the following examples of the imagery of the Holocaust in local South African poetry (Shain 1996:687):

- Lina Spies - Lied van die Kinders (Opperman 1986:553)
- I de Villiers - Dietrich Bonhoeffer : Brief Aan Homself (Opperman 1986:574)

Another example is found in the lyrics of Laurika Rauch 'Hot Gates' (Tusk Music 1995)

90. Such a comparison had already been a subject of debate since this comparison had featured in a number of spheres. In 1990, then archbishop Desmond Tutu, during a visit to Yad Vashem, called for the forgiving of the perpetrators and drew the following comparison:

Tutu said that pictures he had seen of starving Jewish children in European ghettos were reminiscent of black experiences in South Africa (Jerusalem Post: Jan 6 1999).

He had also drawn a parallel between apartheid and Nazi racism by comparing racist theory and ideology, the role of the church, cheap/slave labour and economic and geographical restrictions (ABC News: 16 Oct. 1984). These direct comparisons however fail to take into account the unique elements and the driving forces, intent and extent of each case. Thus historical connections and ideological influences were evident as suggested by Sipo Mzimela as quoted by Kofi Asare Opoku.

Out of the five leaders who ruled South Africa since Apartheid became the official policy, four of them were avowed and unrepentant supporters of the Nazis ... their [party's] indebtedness to the Nazis cannot be dismissed as mere speculation (Kofi Asare Opoku:1988:2161).

The notion that there was a direct parallel between the Holocaust and the genocidal intention of the Nazis, and that of the Apartheid governments, however, was speculative rhetoric and seem exaggerated, as was Mzimela's suggestion that the government's programme of 'Bantu Homelands' was comparable with the 'Final solution'.

Thus South Africa's Final solution (sic) in its last stage is meant to be completed. the Nationalists will then declare South

## Africa 'free of Blacks'(Opoku:1810).

91. The exhibition with its emphasis on democracy, equality and the rights of the individual, was regarded as making a contribution in educating for a 'New South Africa' and served to further align the Anne Frank exhibition with the struggle for democracy.
92. The use of the Holocaust for comparative purposes and as a metaphor for ultimate racist evil found redress when such terminology and simplistic comparisons were made regarding ethnic fighting in Bosnia in 1992. Time Magazine was prompted to clarify what it termed 'the lexicon of horrors':  
Newspapers scream of death camps, President Bush warned of a Nazi style genocide. But these emotionally fraught words obscured the fact that such phrases have precise individual meaning and their misuse is often an act of propaganda (Time Magazine: 17 Aug 1992:21).
93. Items appeared in both the English and Afrikaans press which often included photographs. For example:  
Die Burger: Joodse Opstand teen Nazis (19 April 1993).  
Cape Times: War Dead Remembered (21 April 1993).  
The press also reported about international commemorations, thus the 1993 commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in Poland and Jerusalem was reported by South African television, local newspapers, CNN Television, Newsweek and Time Magazine. Each year at the time of commemoration the weekend newspaper supplements carried full feature articles on aspects of the subject, though articles were also evident throughout the year and often in response to a specific point of interest such as an article about Raoul Wallenberg (Argus 19 December 1992) at the time of a television mini-series about his rescue work.  
  
The following feature articles appeared in the Cape Argus:  
1989 - The Holocaust Remembered (4 May 1989)  
1990 - Jews Look Back (29 April 1990)  
1992 - *Zachor* - Remember: Resistance in the Holocaust (25 April 1992)  
1993 - Uprising (24 April 1993)
94. (A) Both the Anne Frank exhibition and Schindler's List received an inordinate amount of attention through the press, television, radio, magazines, and in the form of previews, reports, debates, and extended coverage of related topics and events.  
  
(B) The years 1992-94 were more representative and reviewing articles in just one daily paper The Cape Argus, the scope of the exposure became apparent. There were articles that reflected the continued fascination with Hitler, Nazism and World War II; German unification and contemporary Germany; Neo-Nazi activities both local and international; Holocaust denial and Revisionist History; War crimes and trial, Righteous Gentiles; Survivors

and their testimonies; commemoration; anti-semitism; macabre sensationalism; and interrelated categories. The wide range demonstrated by this sampling did not include photographic and pictorial coverage nor did it include any previews, blurbs, or advertising that may have appeared in the same newspaper in order to advertise films, theatre and exhibitions which were previously described. (Appendix C.4.)

The following list of articles are examples of each of the categories listed:

- 'Nazi Disneyland in Polish Forests' Visiting Nazi sites (10 Oct 1992)
- Nazi war criminals find hope in German unity (3 Dec 1994)
- Skinheads - Nazi Echo halts Berlin Football (8 April 1994)
- Dawood Kahn's Antisemitic Outburst - Leader article (8 April 1993)
- Death Camp Toll Halved (2 March 1993) - Demanjuk is Free (7 August 1993)
- Jews Honour Princess Alice (17 March 1993)
- Alleged 'Viva Hitler!' Cry - Assault charges (17 April 1993)
- Skinheads Shout Slogans at 50th Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (19 April 1993)
- Rabin - Warsaw Ghetto (24 April 1993)
- Racial Violence in Holocaust Oration Dedication [by President Clinton at the U.S. Memorial Museum] (23 April 1993)
- Under the Whispering Pines lies 70 000 executed Jews (12 Dec 1994)
- Genocide in Bosnia - Ethnic Cleansing - The Ghosts of Nuremberg (31 Oct 1994)
- Janus Walks - Chris Hani assassination
- Hani Killed, Neo-Nazi links (front page headlines)(April 17 1993)

95. Documentaries attracted considerable interest, as did 'art' films, but it was the Hollywood feature film and the television mini-series which were most accessible to the pupils and to mass audiences.

Even when many of these 'Holocaust' films began their public screenings at cinemas with age restrictions, once available in video format they became accessible for home viewing either by hire or through M-Net Cable television. The majority of parents interviewed, it will be recalled, had not expressed reservations about their children viewing age restricted Holocaust videos.

Even after a note of warning from the principal of Weizmann regarding the unsuitable nature of Schindler's List for the young child (Letter to Parents: April 1994), parents generally permitted and encouraged their children to view it. At the time of the film's release in 1994, three pupils indicated that they had evaded the 'under-sixteen' restriction, and by 1995 even prior to the video release many pupils indicated that they had seen the film.

Forty two of fifty three pupils listed the following films. Hannah's War; The Diary of Anne Frank; The Music Box; Friendship in Vienna; and For Those I

Love. One pupil listed 'Ambulance' and another two listed BBC's World At War - Genocide. (Appendix C.5. Video/Films screened 1992-94.)

96. Initially pupils could not remember the titles as films blurred and names had been forgotten. Prompted by their peers and through the description of plots, film titles were identified. The usual impact was confirmed by the pupils, one pupil encapsulated this in the interview:  
     I can't remember the names of the film but I can remember seeing them (Interview 19: Pupils).
97. Fragmentation of this sort was reinforced by the fact that the majority of pupils most commonly identified a Holocaust film as The Legacy of Anne Frank (1967), Dear Kitty (1987) and Hannah's War (1991) all of which were viewed at school as part of the formal curriculum.
98. 'School knowledge' for Barnes was defined as information delivered or prescribed to pupils by teachers and which remained external to pupils' perceptions of what is essential to their reality. (Barnes 1976:80).
99. Bathsheva Dagan draws this useful and important parallel in her programme - Helping Children to learn about the Holocaust (1987). The commercial exploitation of the subject and the process of perpetuating stereotypes demonstrate the extent to which the media can contradict the efforts of the teacher in the classroom.
100. Television corporation offering news reports such as ABC and CNN, much like film and video, are motivated by commercial and entertainment interest and they present their news reports as entertainment.
101. This issue is particularly sensitive in view of the attempts made to deny the Holocaust occurred.
102. Hilberg developed these categories which became the title of his later book, Perpetrators, Victims and Bystanders - The Jewish Catastrophe 1933-45. (1992).
103. Hilberg contends that it was the sense of powerlessness rather than the indifference of onlookers that resulted in the impotence of Jewish leaders in Britain, USA and Palestine. For Hilberg and these leaders themselves, they were not as 'Bystanders' (Hilberg 1992: Preface XI).
104. The perspective of victim contrasts sharply with the approach adopted in the previously described Cape Town Holocaust Memorial Outreach Programme for Government schools. This programme focused on universal lessons and humanitarian values with a view to raising awareness of racism amongst 'bystanders'. Such an emphasis was not evident even when the same programme was carried out for the pupils of Herzlia High School where the perspective was shifted to that of 'victim'.



105. In a chapter called 'Israel and Jewish Education' in his book The Language of Jewish Education Chazan addressed this problem. Applying an analytical - philosophical approach he defined the understanding of Israel' as subject matter, and the educational implications of each perspective (Chazan: 1978, Chapter 7).

University of Cape Town



## CHAPTER SIX

1. Tyler describes the need for screens:  
To screen the heterogeneous collection of objectives ... to eliminate the unimportant and the contradictory ones ... based on the philosophy of education and psychology of learning (Tyler 1950:24).
2. Discussions with Holocaust historians, Prof Yehuda Bauer and Dr Dalia Ofir were held at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University, Jerusalem (March, 1991).
3. Psychological insights were gleaned through interviews conducted with psychologists and school counsellors in Cape Town, and with child psychologist, Batsheva Dagan in Israel (March, 1991). Simon Herman's psycho-social studies of identity were also useful for exploring this field. (Herman 1977;1991).
4. Chaim Bermant made a similar observation about British Jews.  
A generation of young Jews grew up in the 70s and 80s and have been liberally exposed to literature, films and lectures about the Holocaust, and it is this generation which is choosing to marry out of Judaism at the rate of one in two (Bermant, 1993).
5. Leon Jick notes that the lachrymose school is not restricted to primary and secondary education.  
Fully half of the scores of American colleges and universities which now offer a course on the Holocaust, teach no other classes on Jewish history or culture ... their knowledge of the Jewish experience is limited to victimization - how the Jews died (Jick 1981:316).
6. A good example of such catalogues is found in Teaching The Holocaust : Resources And Materials. An annual catalogue of materials, books, videos, laser discs and posters. Published by Social Studies School Service, Culver City CA. USA.
7. Additional bibliographies include the following:  
KIMMEL, E.A. 1973 The Distant Smoke. Children's Literature on the Holocaust Response No 25.  
ROSKIES, D 1975 Teaching The Holocaust To Children.  
A Review and Bibliography  
THE WASHINGTON HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM  
1994 Annotated Bibliography Book 2.
8. Judith Lewis also addresses the issue of integration into a graded curriculum (Lewis, 1982).

9. Numerous attempts have been made to present the abstract figure of six million in more concrete terms. Most of these have failed and have further confused the pupil. A typical example of this are measuring multiples of football stadiums or dividing local city populations...  
We pointed out the stadium in Cleveland and told the kids to empty it out seventy five times (Stadtler 1976:219).
10. The wearing of a yellow star was a recurring practise. It was carried out at one of the Herzlia primary schools in 1992 amid reservations amongst teachers. In that same year it was a feature of the Holocaust exhibition mounted by the South African Board of Jewish Education in Johannesburg.
11. Kenneth Roseman has used this approach preparing a do-it-yourself adventure book called Escape From The Holocaust (UAHC, 1985).  
More than an adventure story, this is an educational tool - every decision has enormous consequences and is the difference between freedom and slavery, life and death (Kohn 1988).
12. At the time of the research into the case study plans were projected for the building of a Holocaust Centre to be opened in Cape Town in 1999. The particular focus of the centre was to be the Holocaust of Latvian and Lithuanian Jewry, and the destruction of the Jews of Rhodes. This was reported in The Cape Argus (March 30, 1997) under the heading 'Holocaust Centre for City's Museum Mile'.  
  
The role of a resource centre for Holocaust education is explored in an article by Mira Frankel and David Schapiro (Pedagogic Reporter, 1982 Vol 33 No 2).
13. Batsheva Dagan makes the same observation in her programme (1987). Dora Mack warns of the opposite extreme where educators have over-reacted and children have been subjected to over-zealous sex education programmes that lack sensitivity and age appropriateness, and may even be in conflict with parental and communal values. She argues that in the interests of teaching safer sex, many programmes presume and would appear to be encouraging teenage sexual experimentation and 'sexual liberation' (March, 1993). Such damaging and often unintended distortions and over-exposure finds a parallel in Holocaust education where a teacher or school may approach the subject in an inappropriate and questionable manner.
14. Rossel introduces this technique by analysing the well-known photograph of the boy with raised hands taken during an *aktion* in Warsaw. Rossel falls short in his content analysis however when he fails to direct the students' attention to the role of the photographer and his perspective as bystander or perpetrator. Barlow points out the importance of the role of the 'recorder' of the event.  
The Nazis made a point of recording their actual atrocities they

themselves perpetrated, demonstrating the ultimate ethos of a predatory visual culture - the aggressive dominating superiority of the filmmaker over what they film, transmitting it to the viewer who views it from the same perspective, to be visually illiterate is to be helpless before this presentation (Barlow 1988:1224).

15. Historically the ordinary survivors testimony is of limited value and even more uncertain forty and fifty years on. They are now rarely in a position to provide the clear and uncontrovertible statements required in courts of law and by historians (Wilson 1988,1158).
16. Amongst local survivors who have lived or are presently living in Cape Town are those who survived camps such as Auschwitz, Terezin, Bergen Belsen, Maidanek and Buchenwald, but there are also other camp survivors whose stories touch on other important aspects such as the partisan fighters, a member of the Vilna Ghetto theatre, and the brother of the harbinger of the news of the Holocaust to London and who committed suicide in London to demonstrate against public indifference. These and other stories of this sort lend themselves to classroom work that could incorporate the rescue of the person. Survivors in Cape Town have recorded their stories in the book In Sacred Memory edited by Gwynne Schrire, (1995) and published by the Holocaust Memorial Council in Cape Town.
17. Most researchers have found that personal Jewishness is more influenced by the home than by the school.  
On important public issues Jews seem to be educated more effectively by the media and Jewish social norms than by the school (Resnick in Sklare, 1982).
18. 'On Kindling The Shoah Memorial Candle' a text for meditation and reflection appeared in the Jewish press just prior to Yom HaShoah (Cape Jewish Chronicle Vol. 12 No. 3 April 1995:11).
19. Diane Roskies wrote of this:  
It makes little sense to talk about the destruction as long as children as well as the majority of adults haven't the slightest idea of what was lost. (Roskies 1975:41).
20. An example of a programme entirely devoted to pursuing the Jewish dimension is found in Flame And Fury by Yaacov Shilav and Sarah Feinstein (1962).
21. Chazan gives the examples of 'Hebrew' and 'Israel' as further evidence of this duality since both are central features of Jewish religious and national-ethnic dimensions. His unpublished paper 'Is Jewish Education Religious or Ethnic Education?' explores these issues (Chazan 1975:2).

22. The high profile public image of the Chief Rabbi of South Africa in the 1990s as the voice of the local community, suggests a swing in the direction of the religious dimension at least on a formal public relations level.
23. The community commemoration services in Cape Town are organized by the Union of Orthodox Synagogues and the Jewish Board of Deputies, however, the *Sephardi*, *Lubavitch* and Reform denominations are all represented as are other Jewish institutions and organizations.
24. Matanya Bacher, a past principal of Herzlia Primary School, recognized the need to bridge the approaches:  
 An amalgam of the affective and cognitive approaches must be found if we are able to convey the true nature of the unique historical event as part of Jewish education. (Bacher: 1987).
25. A suitable day would be the 10th day of Tevet, a fast day commemorating the breach of the walls of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E., and subsequently designated as a memorial day for martyrs. This day is already observed as a Holocaust Memorial Day by some religious Jewish groups. This particular day, however, almost always falls in the long school vacation in December-January.
26. The Jewish calendar being partly lunar and partly solar, varies in relation to the Gregorian (Solar) calendar. To emphasize the Holocaust's occurrence in the Diaspora, *Kristallnacht* would be fixed according to its Gregorian date of 9-10th November rather than the corresponding Hebrew date.
27. Planned in advance, the Nazis used the assassination in Paris of under-secretary Ernst Von Rath by a Jewish student, Herschel Grynszpan, as the pretext for the *aktionen*.
  - A total of 101 synagogues were destroyed, 76 were demolished and 7500 shops were destroyed. (Minutes of a meeting in Goering's Ministry 12 Nov 1938 quoted by Schoenberger 1969:23).
  - The Jews of the Reich were also fined one billion Reichsmarks as a 'kontribution' for the damages (Source Document 53 in Arad, Gutman and Margoliot 1981:117).
28. In the *Aktionen* of *Kristallnacht* 92 people were killed, 800 Jewish homes were destroyed, 31000 Jews were arrested of which 1000 died (Supple 1993:84).
29. Increasingly the term *Kristallnacht* (also *Krystalnacht*) has been retained in the German form and the original translation into English of Crystal Night has all but disappeared seemingly inappropriate as a euphemism although this was the original intention of the Nazi terminology. Even the term *Kristallnacht* has been criticized as retaining the Nazi perspective, but much as with the controversy over the term 'Holocaust', common currency has determined its entrenched position and in this case, the continued use of the original form.

30. The shattering of glass is one of the traditional Jewish symbols for fulfilling the rabbinical injunction to remember the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem even on the occasions of celebrations. Thus a Jewish groom smashes a glass underfoot at his wedding ceremony.
31. Despite Shawn's disclaimer she herself fell prey to the approach when preparing pupils for *Kristallnacht*. She suggests that the younger primary school pupils should be prepared for this commemoration by focusing on the synagogue. But instead of being studied for its central role in Jewish life, this reduces it to an aspect of the Holocaust and a unit for introducing a Holocaust based worldview.
32. Noah Golinkin points out that the Passover eve ritual of the '*Seder*' was not formalized until 1400 years after the Exodus (Golinkin 1989).
33. Preparatory courses are offered at the local university as part of undergraduate study in Jewish civilization. Teachers could also be sponsored to attend courses offered at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington. With the opening of a Holocaust Centre in Cape Town in 1999, preparatory courses for teachers are being considered.

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## CHAPTER SEVEN

1. The cycles of Action Research are laid out by Kemmis and McTaggart in *The Action Research Planner* (1984) and discussed in *The Action Research Reader* (Kemmis et al 1981).
2. Translation - Irving N Bunim (1964) *Ethics From Sinai*. Vol. 1:210, NY:Philipp Feldheim.

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## GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH WORDS

The language of origin of words and concepts is indicated by the following representative letters – Hebrew (H): German (G) and Yiddish (Y). The Yiddish language as indicated shares words with both Hebrew and German.

<i>ahavat Ha'Briyot</i>	-	the concept of loving one's fellow man (H).
<i>Agudaists</i>	-	Ultra Orthodox Jewish denomination and also a political grouping (Y) (H).
<i>akeda</i>	-	the biblical story of the binding of Isaac (Genesis 22) (Y) (H).
<i>aktion</i>	-	'Actions' against the Jews by the Nazis, purges and operations such as round-ups (G).
<i>aktionen</i>	-	plural of <i>aktion</i> (G).
<i>Aktion Suhnezeichen</i>	-	Operation Sign of Atonement, post war German social Action group (German).
<i>Arbeit Macht Frei</i>	-	'Work brings freedom', Nazi sign-post over entrances to Concentration Camps (G).
<i>Ashkenazi</i>	-	Jews of East-European origin and custom (Y) (H).
<i>atzamaut</i>	-	Israel's independence – 5 <sup>th</sup> May 1948 (H).
<i>Av</i>	-	eleventh month of the Jewish calendar (Y) (H).
<i>Bricha/Brichah</i>	-	the flight from post war Europe by Jewish refugees – clandestine emigration to Palestine (Y) (H).
<i>chag</i>	-	Jewish festival – secular and religious (Y) (H).
<i>chaggim</i>	-	plural of <i>chag</i> – festivals (Y) (H).
<i>Channukah</i>	-	the Festival of Lights and the Maccabi victory (Y) (H).
<i>Chassidei Ha'Umot</i>	-	'The Righteous Amongst the Nations', Gentiles who acted to protect and save Jews from the Nazis (H).
<i>chumash</i>	-	The Five Books of Moses with commentary – the <i>Pentatuach</i> (Y) (H).

<i>churban</i>	-	destruction, devastation (Y) (H).
<i>dinim</i>	-	Jewish law (Y) (H).
<i>Etz Chayim</i>	-	Congregation of Holocaust survivors established in Johannesburg. (literally – ‘tree of life’) (Y) (H).
<i>gevurah</i>	-	bravery, heroism, resistance (Y) (H).
<i>halacha</i>	-	Jewish religious law (Y) (H).
<i>Hallel</i>	-	Liturgy of praise (Y) (H).
<i>Hashem</i>	-	The name of God, literally ‘The Name’ (Y) (H).
<i>Hassidei Ha’Umot</i>	-	righteous gentiles, see <i>Chassidei Ha’Umot</i> (H).
<i>Hatikvah</i>	-	‘The Hope’, anthem of the Zionist movement and later of The State of Israel (Y) (H).
<i>hester panim</i>	-	Jewish theological concept of the eclipse of God – literally ‘the hidden face’ (Y) (H).
<i>Historikerstreit</i>	-	the historian’s discourse in Germany over 20 <sup>th</sup> century German Historiography (G).
<i>Ivrit</i>	-	the Hebrew language (H).
<i>Ivrit Be’Ivrit</i>	-	Methodology of teaching Hebrew and all Judaica subjects directly in the Hebrew medium (H).
<i>Judenrein</i>	-	without Jews, ‘ethnically cleansed’ of Jews (G).
<i>Judenvernichtung</i>	-	the destruction, annihilation of the Jewish people (G).
<i>kaddish</i>	-	mourner’s prayer, memorial prayer (Y) (H).
<i>kibbutz</i>	-	collective settlements in Israel (H).
<i>kinnot</i>	-	laments, traditional dirges (H).
<i>Klal Yisrael</i>	-	the totality of the Jewish people (Y) (H).
<i>Kristallnacht</i>	-	‘The Night of the Broken Glass’. The <i>aktion</i> of 9-10 <sup>th</sup> November 1938 (G) (Y).

<i>Kol Nidrei</i>	-	the opening prayer on the eve of the Day of Atonement (Y) (H).
<i>Lochemei Ha'Gettaot</i>	-	The Ghetto fighters and Jewish partisans (Y) (H).
<i>Lubavitch</i>	-	A schism of the Hassidic Ultra Orthodox Movement (Y) (H).
<i>Maccabi</i>	-	the Hasmonean dynasty that ousted the Greeks. Associated with the festival of <i>Hannukah</i> (Y) (H).
<i>menorah</i>	-	seven branched candelabra of the temple of Jerusalem. Also the symbol of the State of Israel (Y) (H).
<i>mitzvah</i>	-	a Jewish religious precept. Also a good deed (Y) (H).
<i>mitzvot</i>	-	Plural of <i>Mitzvah</i> – precepts such as Torah commands (Y) (H).
<i>Mizrachists</i>	-	adherents of the religious Zionist movement, <i>Mizrachi</i> (Y) (H).
<i>morah</i>	-	teacher (female) (H).
<i>moreh</i>	-	teacher (male) (H).
<i>mussar</i>	-	Jewish ethics (Y) (H).
<i>Nissan</i>	-	The seventh month of the Jewish calendar. The month of the biblical Exodus (Y) (H).
<i>olah</i>	-	a sacrifice for Temple service (Y) (H).
<i>omer</i>	-	the (daily) counting of seven weeks between <i>Pesach</i> and <i>Shavuot</i> . Also a period of semi-mourning (Y) (H).
<i>orts und zeitgebunden</i>	-	'tied to another time'; 'of another time and place' (G).
<i>Pesach</i>	-	Festival of Passover commemorating the Exodus from Egypt (Y) (H).
<i>pogrom</i>	-	an attack, plundering of a Jewish community (Y).
<i>Purim</i>	-	a Jewish festival celebrating Queen Esther and the redemption of the Jews of Persia (Y) (H).

<i>Rosh Hashana</i>	-	the Jewish New Year (Y) (H).
<i>ruach</i>	-	spirited, atmosphere and mood (H).
<i>schutzpasse</i>	-	Swedish protective passes issued by Raoul Wallenberg in Hungary in 1944-5 (G).
<i>seder</i>	-	Passover festival ritual meal (Y) (H).
<i>selichot</i>	-	penitential prayers (H).
Sephardi	-	Jews of Spanish/Iberian origin and custom (Y) (H).
<i>Shavuot</i>	-	Festival of Pentecost (H).
<i>Shearith HaPeitah</i>	-	International association of Jewish Holocaust survivors, literally 'the saving remnant' (Y) (H).
<i>shoah</i>	-	A great catastrophe associated with a devastating wind. Also the title of Lanzman's documentary film (1985) (Y) (H).
<i>shoah Be'Cheder Atum</i>	-	popular expression in Israel during the Gulf War of 1991, referring to the potential gas warfare. Literally 'the Holocaust in a sealed room' (H).
<i>shofar</i>	-	ram's horn, trumpet for ritual purposes (Y) (H).
<i>shul</i>	-	synagogue (Y).
<i>Simchat Torah</i>	-	Festival of rejoicing with the <i>Torah</i> (H).
<i>Tanach</i>	-	The Bible (The Old Testament) (H) (Y).
<i>tefillah</i>	-	prayers or prayer service (Y) (H).
<i>tehiyah</i>	-	rebirth, statehood (Y) (H).
<i>Tevet</i>	-	the fourth Jewish month (H ).
<i>Torah</i>	-	the Pentateuch in a scroll, the Five Books of Moses (Y) (H).
<i>umipnei Chat-einu</i>	-	Divine retribution in Jewish theology. Literally, 'because of our sins' (H).

- unbewaltige vergangenheit* - The difficulty of coming to terms with the Nazi past in Germany. Literally 'the unmastered past' (G).
- Yad Vashem* - A monument and a memorial. The Holocaust National Memorial Institute in Jerusalem (H).
- yahrzeit* - Anniversary of a death, a memorial day.. Literally 'time in the year' (Y).
- yeshivah* - religious seminary, rabbinical college (plural *yeshivot*) (Y) (H)..
- Yom Ha'Atzmaut* - Israel's Day of Independence – the 5<sup>th</sup> day of the month of Iyar (H).
- Yom Ha'Shoah Ve'Hagevurah* – Holocaust Memorial Day. Literally – 'the day of Holocaust [memorial] and of Resistance'. Shortened to *Yom Ha'Shoah* (H).
- Yom HaZikaron* - Memorial Day for the fallen soldiers of the Israeli Defence Force. Commemorated the day preceding *Yom Ha'Atzmaut* (H).
- zachor* - remembrance, commemoration and recording the past (Y) (H).
- zivildcourage* - responsible citizenship as a civic virtue (G).
- Zog nit kayn mol* - 'The Song of the Partisans' by Hirsch Glick (1943). Literally 'Never Say This Is The Last Road' (Y).

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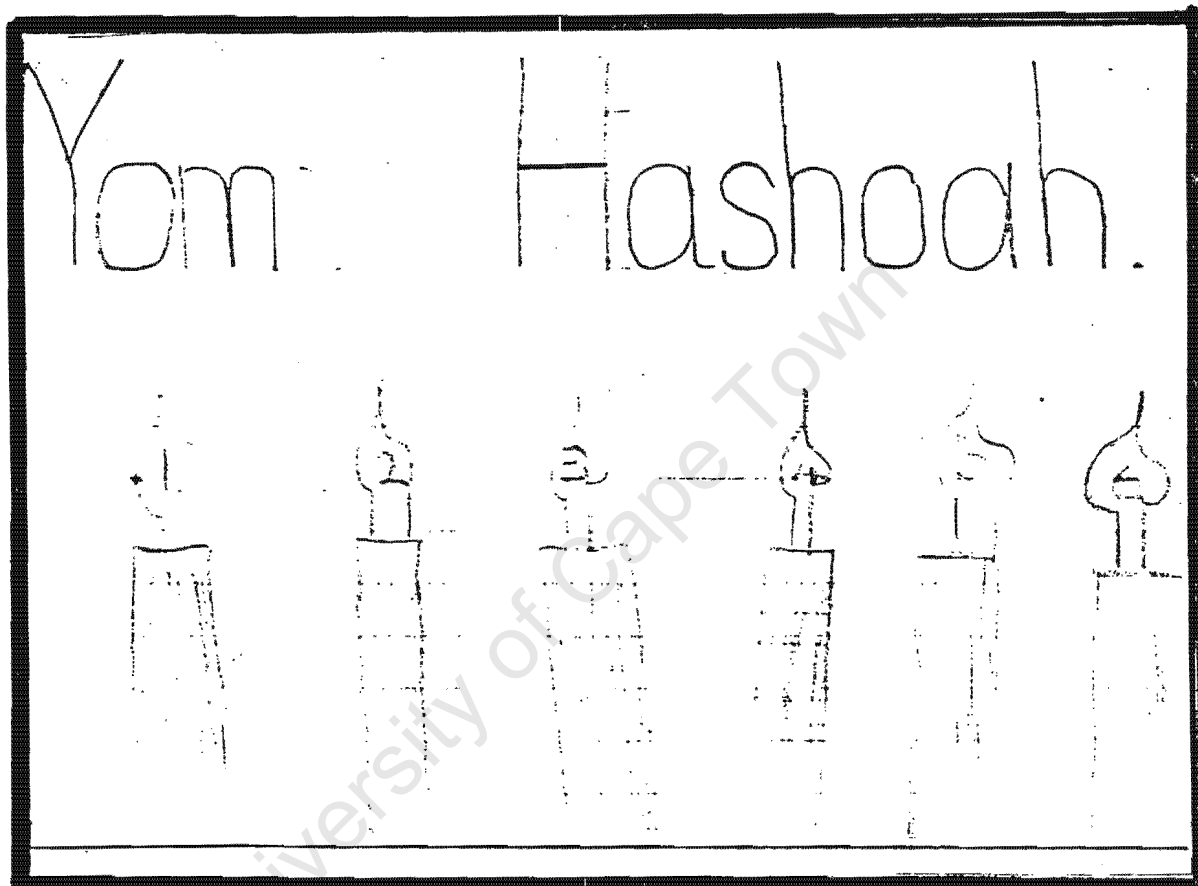
## APPENDIX A

### HERZLIA WEIZMANN PRIMARY SCHOOL – FORMAL CURRICULUM

#### EXAMPLES OF NOTES AND TEXT CONCERNING THE HOLOCAUST, FROM PUPIL'S NOTE BOOKS (1993-94)

1. SUBSTANDARD B/GRADE 2- CLASS NOTE
2. STANDARD 1/GRADE 3 - CLASS NOTE
3. STANDARD 2/GRADE 4 - CLASS NOTE
4. STANDARD 3/GRADE 5 - CLASS NOTE
5. STANDARD 3/GRADE 5 - TEST
6. STANDARD 4/GRADE 6 - CLASS NOTE
7. STANDARD 4/GRADE 6 - CLASS NOTE
8. STANDARD 4/GRADE 6 - TEST

1. SUB-STANDARD B / GRADE 2 : CLASS NOTE.

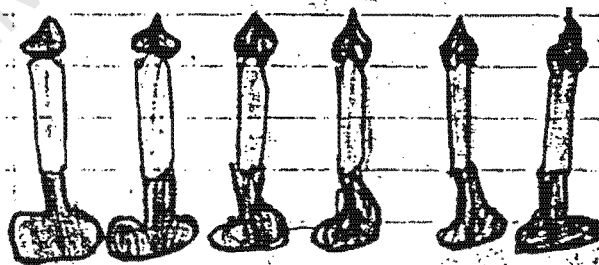


## 2. STANDARD 1 / GRADE 3 : CLASS NOTE.

\* yom hashoah

Remembering the people who died in the 2<sup>nd</sup>  
World war.

yom Hashoah

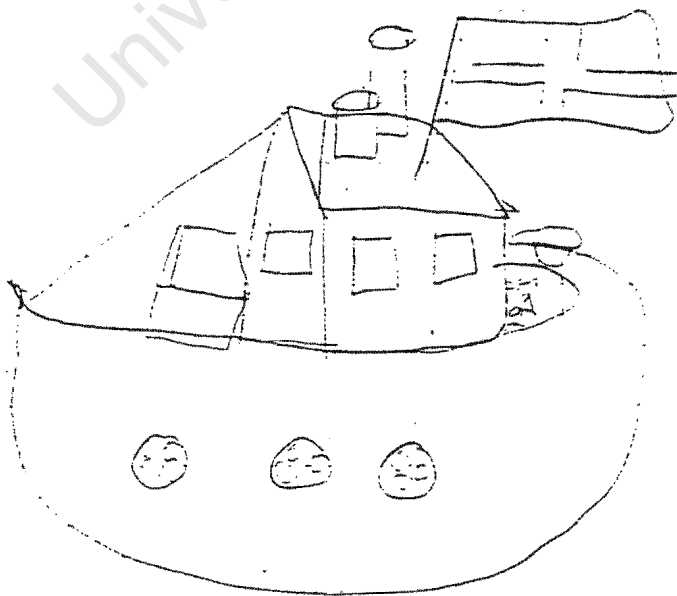


## 3. STANDARD 2 / GRADE 4 : NOTE.

Yom Ha - Shoah

אלול

In Yom Ha - Shoah we remember the tragedy of what the Nazis did to the Jewish people. We also remember the bravery (אומץ) of those who fought back, and the Righteous Gentiles (חסידים צדיקים) who saved Jews. We honour the Danish people who saved the Jews of Denmark. They took the Jews to safety in Sweden in small fishing boats.



## 4. STANDARD 3 / GRADE 5 : NOTE.

7 CHANNAH SENESH  
1921-1944.

It was the night of March 18, 1944. The little plane droned its way across the Adriatic to Yugoslavia where five parachutists, four men and a girl, were to be dropped behind the German lines for a special mission. They were all from Eretz Yisrael—members of the unit of 240 young Jewish volunteers enrolled for secret service.

The girl in the group was Hannah Senesh. She was then 23 years of age and had left her native Budapest a few days before her 18th birthday to go to Eretz Yisrael to work on the land. Hannah had always resented the way Jews were treated in Hungary and when she was sixteen made up her mind to leave. For two years she prepared herself; she studied Hebrew and learnt all she could about Zionism and Palestine.

For five years Hannah lived the life she chose for herself. All day she worked in the fields, and in the evenings she loved to write either long letters to her mother or poems describing the grand life in the land of her forefathers. Suddenly she found herself involved in World War II. By chance she heard that a secret service was being organised by the British in Eastern Europe which would help the Jews in those countries. She immediately volunteered. Eighteen months later, trained as a parachutist and in guerilla warfare, she was off...

The pilot signalled and Hannah jumped. Soon she was joined by her comrades. Hannah and one of them were to cross the frontier into Hungary disguised as Jewish refugees. At the last moment, however, they were betrayed and arrested, but even under torture Hannah refused to reveal her radio code and other secrets and she was condemned to death.

Whilst in prison she wrote this message to her friends: 'Continue on the road—never retreat. Carry on the battle to the end—until the day of freedom comes—the day of victory for our people'.

## QUESTIONS :

1. WHY DID HANNAH LEAVE HER HOME IN HUNGARY?
2. WHY WAS SHE A USEFUL VOLUNTEER IN THE BRITISH ARMY?
3. HOW OLD WAS SHE WHEN SHE WAS EXECUTED?

1. She left her country because they were being bad to her.
2. She was useful to the British because she knew the city and towns well and spoke the language.
3. She was 23 yr. old.

## 5. STANDARD 3 GRADE 5 : TEST.

STD 3 JEWISH STUDIES TEST NAME - ENGLISH: Nicholas HEBREW: ניקולס

1. CHANA SENESH RETURNED TO HUNGARY TO <sup>(save)</sup> free her mother and see the Jews in Hungary, from the Nazis. ✓ 2

2. SHE WROTE - "אַחַדִּי הַקְפּוּדֵר שׁוֹשֵׁדֵךְ וְהַלִּיט לֵהבֹת" "HAPPY IS THE MATCH THAT BURNS AND LIGHTS FLAMES OF FIRE" CHANA SENESH THINKS OF HER-SELF AS A MATCH BECAUSE she might just be a small match that dies quickly, but she can light big fires. ✓ 2

3. MATCH THE COLUMNS

3. FATHER OF MODERN ISRAEL	1948	✓
4. PRESIDENT OF ISRAEL IN 1994	1897	✓
5. PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL IN 1994	CHANA SENESH	✓
6. PARACHUTIST DURING WORLD WAR 2	EZER WEIZMANN	✓
7. THE YEAR IN WHICH ISRAEL BECAME INDEPENDENT	CHAIM WEIZMANN	✓
	THEODORE HERZL	✓
	YITZHAK RABIN	✓

10 (b)

C. 8. THE NATIONAL ANTHEM OF ISRAEL IS CALLED (IN HEBREW) התקווה ✓ (2)

9. THIS NAME MEANS "THE Hope" ✓ (2)

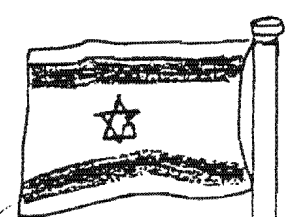
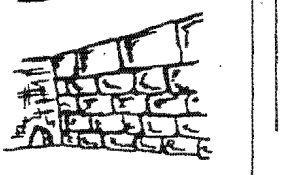
10. TRANSLATE THE LAST TWO LINES OF THE ANTHEM --: לְהוֹת עַם חֲפִזִּי בְּאַרְצֵנוּ אֶנֶךְ צִיּוֹן יִרְשָׁלַיִם

The hope to be a free nation in our own land, The land of Israel, Zion and Jerusalem. ✓ 2

11. THE 'WESTERN WALL', IN HEBREW --: המאבק הקו (1) ✓

IS FOUND IN THE ANCIENT CITY AND CAPITAL CITY OF ISRAEL CALLED IN HEBREW ירושלים (2) ✓

12. COMPLETE THE FLAG OF ISRAEL IN THE CORRECT COLOURS. ✓ 2

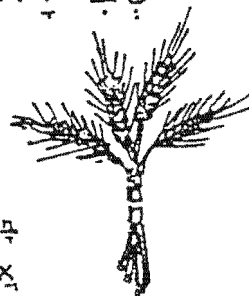
## 6. STANDARD 4 / GRADE 6 : NOTE.

COUNTING THE OMERסְפִירַת הָעֹמֶר

We count the Omer from the second night of Pesach until the night before Shavuot.

Singer Siddur Page 367

בְּרִיךְ אַתָּה ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ. מִלֵּיל שְׁנֵי פֶסַח  
אֲשֶׁר קִדְּשָׁנוּ בְּמִצְוֹתָיו וְלָצֵט׃ עַל סְפִירַת הָעֹמֶר



1.	Pesach	..... 15 Nissan /	פסח	ט"ו ניסן	←
2.	Yom Hashoah	..... 27 Nissan /	יום השואה	כ"ז ניסן	←
	Ye-Hagwrah		והגבורה		
3.	Yom Hazikaron	..... 4 Iyar /	יום הזכרון	ד' אייר	←
4.	Yom				
	Ha'atzmaut	..... 5 Iyar /	יום העצמאות	ה' אייר	←
5.	Lag Ba'Omer	..... 18 Iyar /	ל"ג בעומר	י"ח אייר	←
6.	Yom				
	Yerushalayim	..... 28 Iyar /	יום ירושלים	כ"ח אייר	←
7.	Shavuot	..... 6 Sivan /	שבועות	ו' סיון	←

49 DAYS  
(7 WEEKS)  
OF  
THE  
OMER  
(עֹמֶר)

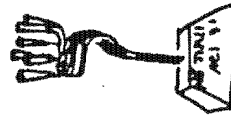
- Pesach - 7 days in Israel, 8 days in the Diaspora. A pilgrim festival
- Yom Hashoah - Memorial Day for the six million Jewish Martyrs who perished during the Holocaust (27th Nissan) and for those who fought against the tyranny of the Nazis
- Yom Hazikaron - Memorial Day for the soldiers who fell fighting for Israel. (4th of Iyar)
- Yom Ha'atzmaut. Day of Israel's Independence. Israel became an independent State in 1948. (5th of Iyar)
- Lag Ba'Omer - 33rd day of the Omer (33 = ל"ג) we remember Bar Kochba and Rabbi Akiva. (Bonfires and arrows).
- Yom Yerushalayim - Jerusalem liberation day during the 1967 six-day-war. (28th Iyar)
- Shavuot - 1 day in Israel, 2 days in the Diaspora. A pilgrim festival. Celebration of receiving the Torah

## 7. STANDARD 4 / GRADE 6 : NOTE.

## נר מצוה: 775779 ב"ה

1. MEMORIAL DAY OF THE BRAVERY AND TRAGEDY OF THE HOLOCAUST.
2. ON THE 27<sup>th</sup> OF NISAN (10:12 S.D) EACH YEAR WE COMMEMORATE THE TRAGIC DEATH OF SIX MILLION JEWS WHO WERE KILLED BY THE NAZIS DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1939-1945).

3. WE REMEMBER THOSE WHO PERISHED SUCH AS  
YANOSZ KORZAK AND HIS PUPILS.  
WE REMEMBER THOSE WHO HID - ANNE FRANK AND  
HER FAMILY  
WE REMEMBER THOSE WHO FOUGHT BACK SUCH  
AS CHANANNA JENESH  
AND WE REMEMBER THOSE RIGHTEOUS GENTILES  
WHO RISED THEIR LIVES TO SAVE JEWS.



אנחנו  
אני  
אני

4. HOLOCAUST - SHOAH - נשחית, MEANS A BURST SACRIFICE AND OFFERING.

ANNE FRANK.



*That's the difficulty in these times: Ideals, dreams, and cherished hopes rise within us, only to meet the horrible truth and be shattered. It's really a wonder that I haven't dropped all my ideals because they seem so absurd and impossible to carry out. Yet, I keep them, because in spite of every thing I still believe that people are really good at heart.*

Your Anne M. Frank.

From her Diary

### WAYS OF REMEMBERING - נדון

- (a) A MEMORIAL BUILDING HOUSING A MUSEUM AND LIBRARY HAS BEEN BUILT IN JERUSALEM. IT IS CALLED YAD - VASHEM.
- (b) ON YOM HASHOAH WE LIGHT SIX CANDLES AND HOLD A MINUTES SILENCE.
- (c) WE STUDY TORAH AND TALMUD AND WE DEDICATE OUR LESSONS TO THOSE WHO PERISHED.
- (d) WE HOLD MEMORIAL SERVICES WITH APPROPRIATE PRAYERS

775779

TO PRESERVE THE SANCTITY OF THOSE WHO WERE KILLED WE SHOULD NOT FORGET THE TRAGIC FACTS. MANY STORY FILMS HAVE BEEN MADE IN HOLLYWOOD WHICH TURN THE SUBJECT INTO 'FIM STORIES THAT MAKE US FORGET THAT THESE BAD EVENTS REALLY HAPPENED TO OUR PEOPLE.



### 8. STANDARD 4 / GRADE 6: TEST.

STD 4: JEWISH STUDIES TEST

1. WE COUNT THE OMER (70) FROM THE SECOND NIGHT OF THE FESTIVAL OF UNTIL THE START OF THE FESTIVAL CALLED

2. THIS PERIOD OF TIME LASTS FOR \_\_\_\_\_ WEEKS : AND \_\_\_\_\_ DAYS.

3. COMPLETE THIS BRACHA FOR COUNTING THE OMER



ה' \_\_\_\_\_ שנת ה'תשס"ו  
 חתום: \_\_\_\_\_  
 ראש המוסד  
 חתום: \_\_\_\_\_  
 ראש המוסד

4. ALONG SIDE THESE DATES ARE IN THE FESTIVAL AND COMMEMORATION DAYS FROM THE LIST IN BRACKETS

[Pesach - נֶפֶשׁ וְ שִׁמְיוֹת - נִשְׁפָּט וְ יוֹם הַחַיִּימוּת מִכְנִיטוֹ p. 2 לֹא בְּאֵמֶר מִיָּד בְּעַד יוֹם הַחַיִּימוּת בְּהַחֲזָרָה מִכְנִיטוֹ p. 2]

3 IYAR - ה' א"ר

15 NISSAN - 10:11G

18 IYAR - 1710 001

6 SIVAN - י"ב'

27 NISSAN. 10953

5. ISRAEL/יִשְׂרָאֵל BECAME AN INDEPENDENT STATE IN [1984 · 1945 · 1948 · 1849]

6. How many days are these pilgrim festivals (אֲדֻמָּה) in Israel

RESACH -

SHAVUOT -

7. EXPLAIN THESE NAMES:

9) LAG BA'OMER / נִיחַן עֹס

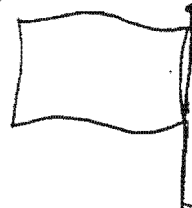
6) Yom HA'SHOBAN VE'HAAGURAN

امیر نے دعا کی کہ یہ بچہ ابراہیم بنے

ע) Yon HA'ATZMAUT / יון האצמאות

- 8.8. WE LIVE IN THE DIABRA / 1812 ! TRUE OR FALSE ?

9. a) WHY DO YOU THINK YOM HA-ZIKARON / (יום הזיכרון) PII TAKES PLACE THE DAY BEFORE  
YOM HA'ATZMAUT? BECAUSE \_\_\_\_\_



- b) COMPLETE THIS FLAG OF ISRAEL USING THE CORRECT COLOURS →

10. ON YOM HA'SHOAH WE REMEMBER 'RIGHTEOUS GENTILES' JOINED 'J.O.O.' LIKE RAOUL WALLENBERG AND THOSE WHO HID THE FRANK FAMILY. DO YOU THINK THERE IS ANY VALUE IN REMEMBERING THE FEW RIGHTEOUS GENTILES OF THE PERIOD OF THE HOLOCAUST? (ANSWER ON THE PAGE - TURN OVER)

University of Cape Town

## **APPENDIX B**

### **HERZLIA WEIZMANN PRIMARY SCHOOL**

#### **INFORMAL CURRICULUM**

##### **EXAMPLES OF MATERIALS AND ACTIVITIES CONCERNING THE HOLOCAUST (1993-1994)**

1. WALL EXHIBITS: 1993 (PHOTOGRAPHS)
2. MEMORIAL EXHIBIT – WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING, 1993  
(PHOTOGRAPH)
3. PRESENTATION TEXT – PARENT’S EVENING: PASSOVER 1993
4. HOLOCAUST DAY MEMORIAL CEREMONY – TEXT; APRIL 1993.
5. MEMORIAL EXHIBIT, 1994 (PHOTOGRAPH)
6. POSTER EXHIBIT ‘PILLARS OF FIRE’
  - (i) ZIONISM AND THE HOLOCAUST
  - (ii) CHANA SENESH
7. SAMPLE ARTICLES – HERZLIA WEIZMANN SCHOOL MAGAZINE
8. HOLOCAUST COMMEMORATION CEREMONY – HERZLIA HIGH  
SCHOOL, 1993

Video tapes of the Herzlia Weizmann Holocaust Memorial Ceremonies (1993 – 1994) are available on request.

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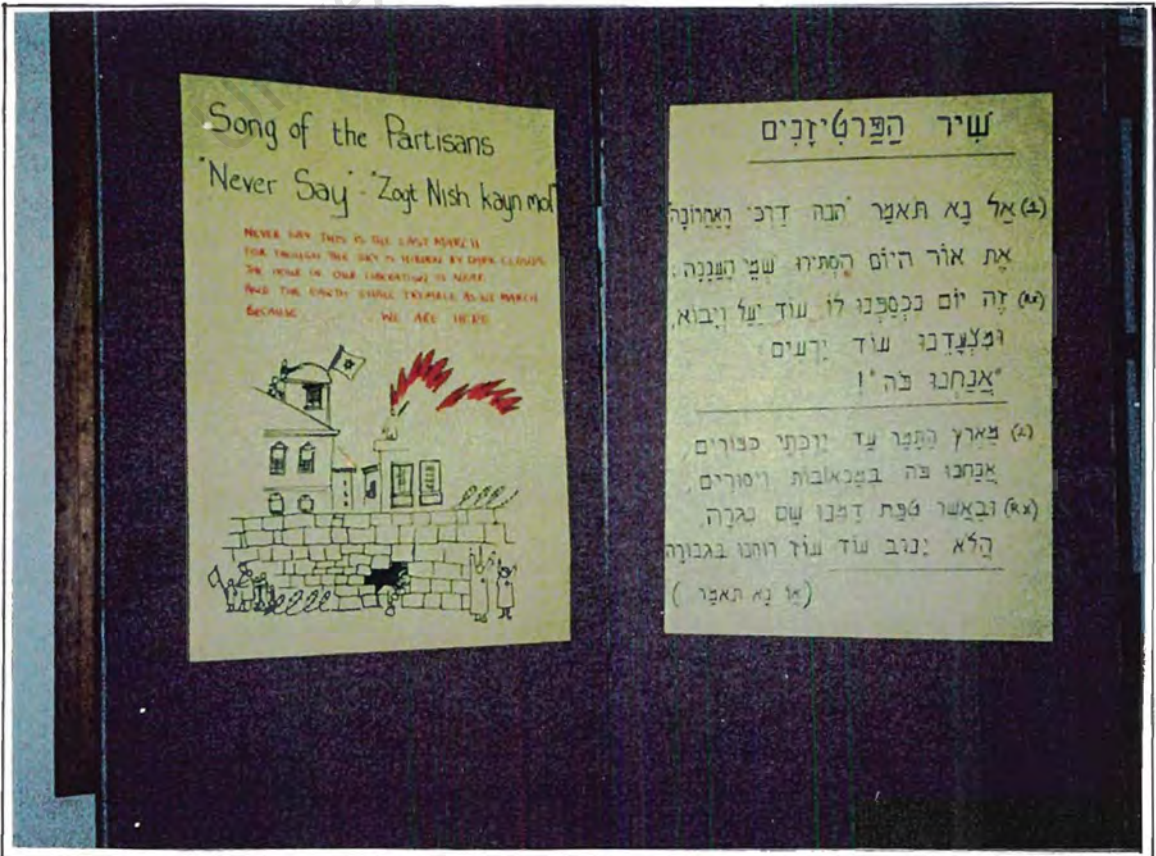
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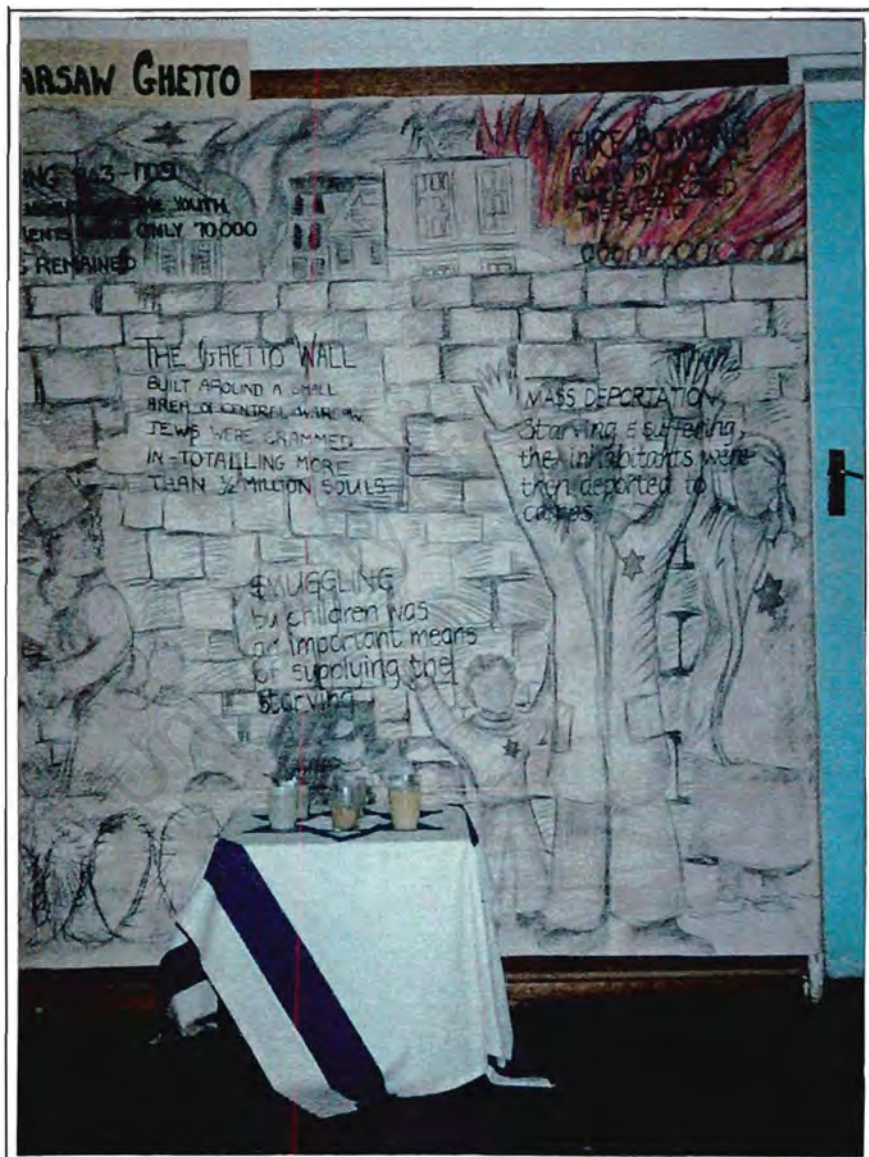


1. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL DAY – WALL EXHIBITS, SCHOOL FOYER 1993  
(MARCH – APRIL)





2. WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING – MEMORIAL WALL : SCHOOL FOYER 1993  
(MARCH – APRIL)



### 3. TEXT PRESENTED TO PARENTS AT THE SCHOOL SEDER EVENING 1993 COMMEMORATING THE WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING



Rabbis, Honoured Guests, Parents and friends,

This evening we at Herzlia Weizmann welcome you to our school, to share with us the traditions and rituals of the Pesach Seder.

This is the 'season of our freedom', 'Zeman Chayutenu' when our ancestors were freed from slavery in Egypt. Every aspect of the Seder highlights our liberation from slavery and servitude, and the historic march of our ancestors to their liberty. This march of freedom took them to Mount Sinai and the receiving of the Torah and then onwards to Eretz Yisrael.

In the Hagadah it is written that every individual should regard himself, as if he, personally had been liberated from Egypt.

בְּכָל דּוֹר וָדוֹר חַיִּב אָדָם לִרְאוֹת אֶת  
עַצְמוֹ, כְּאִילוּ הוּא יָצָא מֵעֶצְרָיִם

And... we are fortunate to be witnesses to ongoing liberation. Of this decade of the 90's, history will recall that Russian Jewry was liberated from communist oppression, Ethiopian Jewry was miraculously air-lifted to Eretz Yisrael, and most recently the remnants of

2/...

Syrian Jewry, have been granted freedom to join the wider Jewish community.

But such freedom is not shared by all - and from afar we watch in horror, the civil wars that claim to bring freedom to nations, but, that has brought misery to its people. Yugoslavia, Somalia, and nearer home in Angola - the plagues of suffering seem endless.

Atrocities and famine oppress the nations of the world, which become powerless under the yoke of modern-day Pharaohs.

And especially painful is the plague of violence and insecurity that has taken hold of the lands dearest to us, in our own country of South-Africa and in Eretz Yisrael.....

And the depths of our pain is even greater when we recall events that occurred 50 years ago, during that period of tragedy and darkness of the Holocaust. This year we commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto.

Warsaw was a bustling city before World War Two, where one in every three people was Jewish. It was a dynamic centre of every facet of Jewish culture and life.

When the Nazis conquered Poland they forced the Jews of Warsaw into a narrow and overcrowded Ghetto. The starving and disease-ridden population would reach a staggering half a million souls.

By 1943 only 70,000 Jews remained in the Ghetto. Gone were the elderly, the refugees, the orphans, women, men and children.....departed to Treblinka.

And yet in those darkest moments of our history there arose a doomed, but determined effort. Under the leadership of Mordechai Anielewicz and the youth groups the Ghetto resisted. On Pesach Day, 50 years ago, the Ghetto rebelled, attacking the Nazi aggressors, and defending the remnants of the Ghetto. And once again these embattled fighters declared faith in Chayutenu, Freedom!

What courage and tenacity....a commitment to freedom and life even in the face of certain death. Who cannot be moved to think of a defiant Jewish flag being



### 3. TEXT PRESENTATION

B.3. (ii)

41....

The battle lasted a few weeks until the Nazis systematically fire bombed each building in the Ghetto. Anielwitz and his fighters fell, and the uprising was crushed. But the ghetto fighters had marched into history and man's eternal struggle for freedom....

We witness their march as we hear the anthem of the Ghetto fighters - 'Shir Ha-Partizanim'.

(HUM) 'Shir Ha-Partizanim' - 'Zog Nisht Kain Mal'

Never say this is the last march,  
for though the sky is hidden by dark clouds,  
the hour of our liberation is near  
and the earth <sup>sho</sup> tremble as we march,  
...because...we are here!

אל יאמר "הנה תבין ומתחילה" שאלו המסר על גורמיו, פסוקים,  
אם את היום, הסתיר שמי העננה, אנחנו לא בפסחא ופסוקים,  
זה יום נפסד לו עור יעל ודבא, ויבא שם רפגו שם גורם,  
העלנו עור יעלים: הלא ינגב עור לו רומנו  
בגורם

'Mir Zai-nen Dor' We are here! And here, at Weizmann we commemorate that heroic battle in Warsaw, which began on Pesach in 1943. Later when you leave we ask you to view our Wall of Commemoration in our school foyer.

51..

In the spirit of the Ghetto Fighters of Warsaw, and all those who sought freedom and dignity, from that first festival of Chayru-taynu - we know there is much to be done. And even here at Weizmann we in our small way ~~we~~ have added our voice to the call for freedom in our own time.

This evening we wish to share our efforts with you, by highlighting <sup>these</sup> prisoners, ~~all of whom~~ <sup>many</sup> could justly be called 'Asooray Tzlon' - 'Prisoners of Zion'. Each imprisoned in a different country, and for different reasons, yet united in their efforts to secure the liberty and freedom of our people.

1. RAOUL VALLENBERG-a righteous gentile saved over 100,000 Jews in Hungary during World War Two. Imprisoned by the communists after the War, we add our voice to the thousands of caring people who want him freed. The State of Israel has bestowed honorary citizenship on this hero. We say to the Russian Government - Tell us where he is! - Let him Go! And even he is dead, let us bury him with honour and dignity, befitting this hero of our people.

67/...

2. RON ARAD. - Ron Arad, an Israeli Air Force navigator was captured by Lebanese Arab Guerrillas in 1986. He had parachuted from his burning plane. For seven years he has been held captive without any information being given. Israel has taken drastic steps to have him released. 'Pikyon Shevu-lm' the release of hostages is a 'national obsession', and Israel was bitterly disappointed when he was not released with American hostages last year.

In Israel, the nation awaits his release with his mother Batya, his wife Tami and his daughter Yuval, who last saw her father when she was nine.

87..

To these women, our Std III's have written letters. Dana Galili, aged ten, writes :

Dear Mrs Arad,

I heard about what happened to your husband. I know about this because I saw it on T.V. I know I cannot do much but I am writing this to make you feel better. Our song of hope is 'Halkvah' and you must never give up hope. Hashem is with you, and some day Lebanon will let Ron free.

Dana

And Sheleen Pann, aged nine, writes :

I want you to know Mrs Arad that I care, and I want them to let your husband, Ron, go. I hope they will let him go soon. I know because I saw you on T.V. I wish I can help.

Sheleen



## B.3 (iii)

Yadin aged nine

[March: 'shir HaPartizanim' e untut film]

## A hand-drawn illustration of a stone wall. On top of the wall, there is a flag with a letter 'P' on it. To the right of the flag, there is a small building or structure with a chimney. In the foreground, there is a figure that looks like a person or a creature, possibly a soldier or a guard, standing near the wall. The drawing is done in a simple, sketchy style with black lines on a white background.

וְלֹא יִהְיֶה אִתְּךָ "הַיָּה" בְּרִשְׁתְּךָ אֶתְּךָ  
 וְעַתָּה הוּא הַיּוֹם הַהוּא שֶׁסִּי הַמִּלֵּן  
 יִהְיֶה יוֹם וְנִסְכְּךָ לֹא עוֹד וְעַל וְנִבְּרָה  
 וְיִתְּנֶנּוּ לְךָ יְרוּשָׁה ;  
 "הַיָּה" הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה "

## 4. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL DAY SCHOOL CEREMONY, 1993

Preparation : flag; 6 candles; posters of 'Anthem' song.

## Introductory Address:

Hitler believes his biggest enemy were the Jews – because of their race, their supposed wealth and his belief that the Jews wanted to control the world.

The rabbis tell us ... that in a way the Jews were his biggest enemy not because of these things he claimed, but because the Torah and Judaism teaches goodness and the value of life, the very opposite of what he taught.

On Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> Nissan, the community will gather at the cemetery to commemorate *Yom Ha'Shoah Ve'Hagvurah*.

## Memorial Prayer:

God who is full of mercy ...

The nation of Israel remembers the souls

Of its sons and daughters, the old, the

Women, the toddlers. Six million of our brothers

Whose only crime was that they were Jews.

קל בלא רחמים  
יזכור עם ישראל את הנשמות  
של בניו ובנותיו, זקנים, נשים ותף  
שישה בליין אחים  
שכל חטאם היה  
שהיו יהודים

## Text:

1. And so we think of the millions, and we think, too, of the individuals
  - Janus Korczak – the father of the orphans of Warsaw
  - Anne Frank – the teenager in Amsterdam whose diary expresses her hopes
  - Chana and her brother Willie, whose photos are displayed in the foyer.
2. But in the tragedy we also look for glimmers of hope especially when we learn about '*Chasidai Ha'Umot*', those non-Jews who risked their lives to save Jews. ... The Danish fishermen, Raoul Wallenberg and Miep, Ellie, Kraler and Koophuis who hid the family of Anne Frank ...
3. We also think of '*Gevurah*', the bravery of Jews who resisted by defying the Nazis, by teaching in secret and by inspiring others. And here we must also recall the immense bravery of Chana Senesh. She left the safety of her *kibbutz* in Israel, to try and save Jews in Hungary. Her poetry of hope, like the writings of Anne Frank, is now legendary. Let us share her prayers for the future.

[The recorder plays the tune to the Senesh Song '*Halichah Le'Kaysarea*'

הליכה לקסריה

קלי שלא יגצר לעולם  
את החול והים  
רשרוש של הפים  
בוק השמים  
תפילת האדם

A Walk to Caesarea  
 Oh Lord  
 Who will never end ...  
 The sand and the sea  
 The rustle of the waves  
 Lightning in the sky  
 ... the hope of men.

4. This year in particular we focus on the resistance of the Jewish fighters. There were over a half million Jews who fought with the Allies in armies from Russia, USA, Britain and even South Africa.

But it is the Ghetto fighters especially whom we honour this year. Under Nazi rule, they broke out in revolt exactly fifty years ago. The destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto was supposed to be a special birthday present for Hitler. The Nazis did not expect any resistance. Mordechai Anielewicz, a ghetto fighter, led the youth in rebellion against the German forces. For three weeks they held out until they perished and the Germans utterly destroyed the Ghetto.

5. When the Jews of Vilna heard of the Warsaw Uprising they, too, were inspired to fight. One young poet in particular wrote a poem to honour the Warsaw Ghetto fighters. 'Zog Nish Kayn Mol' – 'Never say it is the Last Road'. This became the song and the anthem of the partisans.

[Song – tape of the song in Yiddish and Hebrew]

The words of the song – (read from the Posters – Hebrew, Yiddish, English).

Text cont./

6. Hirsch Glick who wrote the song disappeared fighting in the forests of Russia – he was just 24 years old.
7. Now we will stand together in silence to think of those who perished, and those who resisted, those who fought back, and all those whom we honour along with our six million brothers and sisters.

30 seconds silence ... broken by the reading of the names

Janus Korczak, Mordechai Anielewicz, Chana Senesh, Miep Gies, Raoul Wallenberg, Anne Frank, the fishermen of Denmark, Hirsch Glick, the fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto.

Text Cont./

8. We will now conclude with everyone singing – 'The Anthem of the Partisans' (Hebrew)

שיר הפרטיזנים

5. MEMORIAL CANDLES – SCHOOL FOYER 1994





## 6. POSTER 'PILLAR OF FIRE' WALL EXHIBIT

**A ZIONIST YOUTH FARM IN POLAND ON THE EVE OF WORLD WAR II (Central Picture)**

On the eve of World War II there were approximately one hundred thousand members of Zionist Youth Movements in Poland. Almost all of them were murdered by the Nazis.

**MORDECAI ANILEWICZ: 1 THE COMMANDER OF THE WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING**

Underground organizations were formed in more than one hundred ghettos in Nazi-occupied Poland. Members of these clandestine groups stored weapons in anticipation of an armed uprising. Most of the members of the Underground belonged to the Zionist Youth Movements. They wanted to die an honorable death. When the great uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto broke out, its commander Mordecai Anilewicz, wrote: "My life's dream has come true: I have lived to see armed Jewish resistance in the ghetto in all its glory."

**CHANA LEHRER FROM 2 MUNICH: ONE OF THE ONE AND A HALF MILLION JEWISH CHILDREN MURDERED IN THE HOLOCAUST.****MOSHE FLINKER (1927-1944) 3**

One of the transports which left Belgium for the deathcamps carried a sixteen-year youth named Moshe Flinker. In his diary, which was found after the war, he wrote: "Only now do I understand how much we need a homeland... how much we need a country of our own where we can live in peace and quiet. Just like every other nation in its own land. Oh, how beloved you are, my Homeland; whenever I pray I direct my thoughts to you."





## 6. POSTER 'PILLAR OF FIRE' CHANA SENESH


**CHANA SENESH: 4  
A NEW DIMENSION IN  
ZIONISM**

During the Second World War the Zionist Movement persuaded the British Army to parachute young Palestinian Jewish men and women behind enemy lines on a two-fold mission: to spy for the British and to save Jews. Thirty-four Jews parachuted into Nazi-occupied Europe. Seven of them — including Chana Senesh — were captured and executed.

These paratroopers were unable to save Jews. Their mission was of symbolic value, as an attempt to break through the barrier of Jewish helplessness. The young paratroopers added a new dimension to Zionism: the State of Israel, when it would come to be, would be not only a refuge for the persecuted, but a base from which aid could be dispatched to Jews in distress anywhere. According to this line of reasoning, Jews everywhere are easy prey because there is no one to care for them; no government to give them shelter or protection. Thus the Jews need a homeland, whose very existence will provide hope for every Jew, wherever he may be, that should he encounter adversity, he can always hope that he will be rescued dramatically at the right moment.



## 7. HERZLIA WEIZMANN SCHOOL MAGAZINE – PUPIL'S ARTICLES 1989

## WE REMEMBER

## WHY WE REMEMBER

We must remember the Jews that died, six million  
Jews were killed.

War, misery, death!  
hatred  
Hitler the enemy  
the killer  
the conqueror  
the most terrible person on earth or that ever lived.

SIMONE BERK STD 4

## HANNAH SENESH

A lady came to talk to us by the name of Tzili  
Reisenberger. She talked about Hannah Senesh.  
People say that she is a heroine. Tzili has met  
Hannah's mother and brothers, they gave her a tre-  
mendous amount of information. Hannah wrote  
hundreds of poems, she also had a diary just like "Ann  
Frank". Hannah was living in Israel when World War II  
started. She joined it to save her mother and her  
brothers the Jews. She tried her best to save her  
people, but, unfortunately, she got caught and tortured  
to death.

Yael Mann STD 2

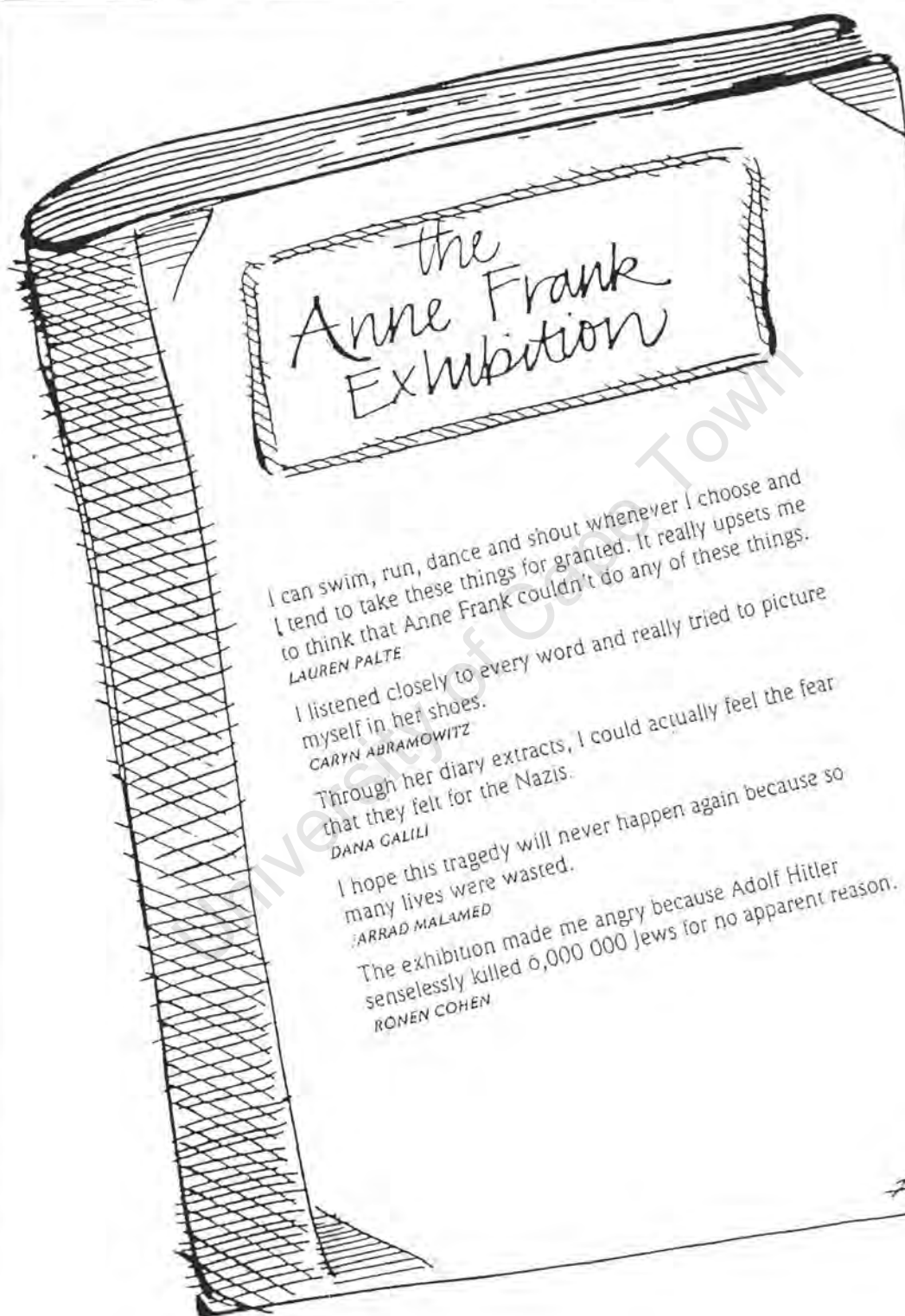
## HANNAH SENESH

Hannah Senesh was an ordinary girl who lived in  
Hungary and wrote poems. She was very clever at  
school and in std 9 she was about to become prefect  
when a policeman came and said that she could not  
because she was a Jew. Hannah lost all her friends.  
She finished matric and moved to Palestine where she  
lived on a kibbutz. She still wrote poems and was  
happy, but lonely. The World War Two broke out.  
Germany took over Hungary. Hannah became a  
soldier in the British army. She parachuted down into  
Yugoslavia, then she went into Hungary. The German  
soldiers caught her and put her in jail. They tortured  
her, but she did not give her secrets away. She carried  
on writing poems and gave hope to other. She died  
when she was 23, but her memory still stays with us.

MARTINE WAYNE STD 3

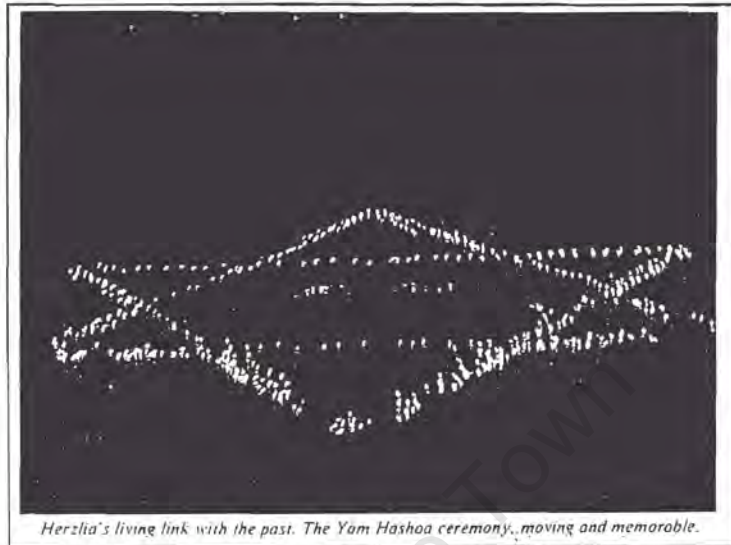


## 7. SCHOOL MAGAZINE – PUPIL'S ARTICLES 1994





## 8. HOLOCAUST COMMEMORATION – HERZLIA HIGH SCHOOL 1993



*Herzlia's living link with the past. The Yam Hashoa ceremony, moving and memorable.*

## JUDAIC DIARY

The Tu B'Shvat ceremony was organized early in the year by the Big Clean Committee. Both secular and religious views were given on the importance of this significant day.

At the beginning of February, the Kfar Haroeh group left for Israel. The programme is a five and a half month religious study trip which included touring and tivilim. This year three Herzlia students took advantage of this wonderful opportunity, namely Liora Silberstein, Adam Lewin and Yochanan Ress. All had a wonderful stay in Israel. (See report.)

In addition to the regular morning minyan, Tephilla services twice a week for the Std 8s and 9s have been held since the beginning of the year. These are doing well and are very beneficial. The pupils are learning the meaning of prayers rather than a full service. This seems to be far more effective. Co-operation and organization have been excellent. The aim of the Tephilla services is to give the pupils a greater understanding of the Siddur and to encourage participation in the services.

The Minyan Yosef Shul committee have been very busy and have accomplished much already. This year a joint full service with the Middle School takes place twice a week, on Tuesday and Thursday mornings. The regular Minyan Yosef service is continuing and regular shiurim are given before the service by Rabbi Kohn and Rabbi Kohlenberg from the Sea Point Shul.

Chief Rabbi Harris visited the Sid 9s earlier this year for an enthralling question and answer session.

An "Ask the Rabbi" session for the Marries also proved very successful, and this programme will continue.

The first Rosh Chodesh of the school year had a new dimension. Ivor Joffe, accompanied by his keyboard, led the service in



*Their light will never be dimmed – Yam Ha'shoah.*

## COMMEMORATION AND CELEBRATION

YOM HASHOAH was commemorated by a moving ceremony organised by Ms Tracy Port, our Informal Zionist Educator, in conjunction with the shlichim from SAUJS and Habonim. Each pupil was given a candle with the name of a child that had perished in the Holocaust. The candles were placed on a large Magen David which was the only light in the hall. A series of readings about the Holocaust with emphasis on the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (as this year is the 50th anniversary of the Uprising) was also a feature. Cantor Ari Rand intoned the 'Hash Karah'.

After the assembly the students returned to their home rooms where they had discussion groups with leaders from the Youth Council.

**WARSAW UPRISING:** The school hosted a community evening to commemorate the Warsaw Uprising.

On YOM HA'ZIKARON in identification

was killed in the War of Independence.

On YOM HA'ATZMAUT the tone was set by the excellent speaker and Kol Yisrael broadcaster, Mrs Freda Keet, who gave a fascinating and inspirational talk on Israel, its importance and achievements. She injected into both pupils and teachers an immense pride of both the country and in being Jewish, which made the whole day that more meaningful. This was followed by dancing and singing in the hall. Ivor Joffe on his keyboard encouraged the whole school to join in and the atmosphere was very festive. This, however, was only the beginning of the celebrations for, in the evening, our pupils joined the rest of the Herzlia Schools in the community celebrations at the Good Hope Centre and our Sid 8s acquitted themselves very well, creating the word "Israel" in a formation. Some of our high school gymnasts together with their younger counterparts put on an en-

## APPENDIX C

### EXTRA CURRICULA MATERIALS AND ACTIVITIES CONCERNING THE HOLOCAUST AND ITS MANIFESTATIONS IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AND THE WIDER MILIEU OF SOUTH AFRICA.

1. THE 'ANNE FRANK IN THE WORLD' EXHIBITION, CAPE TOWN (1994).
  - (i) THE OPENING CEREMONY
  - (ii) THE EXHIBITION PROGRAMME
  - (iii) HERZLIA PRIMARY SCHOOLS – STANDARD 4 WORKSHEET.
2. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL DAY 1993.
  - (i) COMMEMORATION IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AND RELATED EVENTS.
  - (ii) PROGRAMME; HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL SERVICE.
3. COMMUNITY FUNDRAISING FLYER – ISRAEL UNITED APPEAL CAMPAIGN.
4. PRESS ARTICLES AND ITEMS CONCERNING THE HOLOCAUST
  - (i) CAPE ARGUS – A SAMPLING. (1992-94)
  - (ii) THE JEWISH PRESS – A SAMPLING. (APRIL 1993)
5. SAMPLING OF FILM AND VIDEO MATERIAL CONCERNING THE HOLOCAUST VIEWED DURING 1992-94.

## 1. 'ANNE FRANK IN THE WORLD' - EXHIBITION, CAPE TOWN, 1994.

- (i) OPENING CEREMONY - STACY FINTZ, STANDARD 2 PUPIL OF HERZLIA WEIZMANN SCHOOL. [CAPE TIMES, 5 MARCH 1994].

SHARON SOROUR  
Staff Reporter

WHEN an international exhibition documenting the tragic life of Holocaust victim Anne Frank opened in Amsterdam, New York and Frankfurt in 1985, the organisers predicted it would have a four-year lifespan.

Nine years later there are 10 "copies" in 20 languages permanently on tour around the world (including South and North America, England, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Central Europe and Russia). So far 3.5-million people have seen *Anne Frank in the World*.

Such is the universality and appeal of the Anne Frank story, symbolising as it does not only the haunting, hateful consequences of racial intolerance but hope and courage.

The exhibition, created by the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam, has been brought to the country by the Dutch embassy and the SA Jewish Board of Deputies.

Comprising more than 800 photographs and documents, and audio-visual material, it depicts the life of German-born Anne Frank who left Frankfurt as a child with her family in 1933 to escape Hitler's anti-Jewish policies. The family moved to Holland, but during World War 2, when Anne was 13, they were forced into hiding to avoid racial persecution under the Nazi occupation.

They were eventually discovered and all but Anne's father, Otto Frank, died in a concentration camp.

Opening at the SA National Gallery today, the exhibition will tour the country for about 18 months.

For Hans Westra, Anne Frank House executive director, it is a proud moment.

Dr Westra, who was born in 1945, 12 hours after the liberation of his home town Hellendoorn, said: "I tried to visit South Africa, but the government did not like people who helped build up decolonised countries."

"In the past 25 years, I have followed events here as closely as it is possible if you live overseas, and especially with the upcoming elections. I am very proud to be here at this time with the exhibition."

Anne Frank House, housed in the original building where Anne Frank, her family and four friends went into hiding from July 1942 to August 1944, developed the exhibition from pictures of Anne taken by her father Otto Frank.

"It tells the story of Anne Frank, and the rise to power of socialism in Germany, the occupation of Holland and the co-operation of the Dutch... it's also a story about developments now which should alarm people, like the Front National in France, the Republikaner and neo-Nazi attacks in Germany."

Anne Frank received a diary for her 13th birthday from her parents.

"In fact, she had two diaries, one which she wrote in sporadically, the other in response to a request from the Dutch Minister of Education on Radio Orange that people keep diaries to document their experiences."

"Anne wanted to become a journal-



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

**SYMBOL OF HOPE:** A childhood friend of Holocaust victim Anne Frank, Hannah Pick-Goslar, lights a candle with 10-year-old Stacy Fintz of Fresno, granddaughter of Violette Fintz, a survivor of the German concentration camp Auschwitz, at the South African National Gallery in Gardens. The Anne Frank exhibition has been twinned with an exhibition on *Apartheid and Resistance* set up by the University of the Western Cape's Mayibuye Centre. The exhibitions open today at the National Gallery.

the now famous *Diary of Anne Frank*, which has sold more than 20-million copies.

"It's a story which touches individuals all over the world, and was the basis of the film by George Stevens in 1957. In fact, when Steven Spielberg visited the centre three weeks ago he told me this movie was the inspiration for *Schindler's List*," Dr Westra said.

Otto Frank continued to run his business from the building, but when he moved away, it was bought and plans to demolish it down were thwarted by protesting citizens of Amsterdam.

tration camps, Anne Frank was a talented writer, with mature observations and thoughts.

"The diary is still readable. There are classic elements, like discovering your body, falling in love. These are universal experiences. And while the family knew they had a chance of being shot, knowing what was happening to the Jews, she kept a positive attitude, and the diary became a symbol of the Holocaust and World War 2."

Dr Westra says the exhibition is educational, and the symbol of Anne Frank has come to be used in discussions about humanitarian values and human rights.



"Anne Frank in the World" is brought to South Africa by the Royal Netherlands Embassy and the S.A. Jewish Board of Deputies.

Presented in association with the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (DRC), S.A. Catholic Bishops Conference, S.A. Council of Churches and the World Conference on Religion and Peace, S.A. Chapter.

## PATRONS:

Dr Rev. Frank Chikane  
The Hon. Justice Richard Goldstone  
Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris  
Archbishop Wilfred Napier, OFM  
Prof. P C Potgieter  
Mr E Röell, Ambassador for the Netherlands  
Mrs Helen Suzman  
The Most Rev. D M Tutu, Archbishop of Cape Town.

The national tour, which commences in March 1994, includes Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Durban.



*"It's really a wonder that I haven't dropped all my ideals because they seem so absurd and impossible to carry out. Yet, I keep them, because in spite of everything I still believe that people are really good at heart."*

Excerpt from Anne Frank's diary.  
15 JULY 1944.



and Anglo American and De Beers Chairman's Fund, Anglovaal, Comair, Donald Gordon Foundation, Foschini, Investec, Markhams, S A Philips, Pick 'n Pay, Radio 702, Sage Foundation, Stella and Paul Loewenstein Trust, Truworths, Van Leer SA (Pty) Ltd, Young & Rubicam.

# ANNE FRANK IN THE WORLD

*In South Africa*

*Created by the Anne Frank Centre, Amsterdam.*  
**AN INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION  
TO PROMOTE TOLERANCE AND  
UNDERSTANDING**



**Including an exhibition "APARTHEID AND RESISTANCE"**  
by the Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa, University of Western Cape.



# WHO IS ANNE FRANK AND WHY IS HER NAME STILL A COMPELLING SYMBOL IN TODAY'S WORLD?

Anne Frank and her family moved from Germany to Holland in 1933 to escape Hitler's anti-Jewish policies. In 1942, when Anne was 13, the family was forced into hiding to avoid racial persecution under the Nazi occupation. From 1942 to 1944 they hid in a secret annexe above her father's business premises in Amsterdam, where she wrote a diary which chronicled her thoughts and experiences during this period. In 1944 they were betrayed and deported to concentration camps. Anne's father, Otto Frank, was the only member of the family to survive. Discovered after the war, Anne's diary was first published in 1947 and since then has been translated into over 60 languages. Anne Frank has become a symbol of the tragic fate of the 6 million Jews who perished during the Holocaust and indeed of all people who are victims of racism. At the same time her diary has become a universal symbol of courage and hope.

## "ANNE FRANK IN THE WORLD"



SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL GALLERY,  
Government Avenue, Gardens, Cape Town.

1 MARCH TO 4 APRIL 1994

### OPENING HOURS

Monday: 13h00 - 17h00

Tuesday - Sunday: 10h00 - 17h00

### PARKING

Visitors to the National Gallery may use the parking facilities available alongside the Annexe building, off Hatfield Street.

### REFRESHMENTS

Refreshments will be available at the Gallery Café.



### EXHIBITION WALK-ABOUTS

THURSDAYS 13h05. March 3, 10, 17, 24 & 31

SUNDAYS 11h30. March 6, 13, 27 (not 20th). April 3.

Booking essential

Tel. 45-1628 (Gallery).

For further information

Tel. 23-2420 ext. 10 (Exhibition office).

Admission is free.

## THE "ANNE FRANK IN THE WORLD" EXHIBITION.

This photo-documentary exhibition, from the Anne Frank Centre in Amsterdam, recreates the world of Anne Frank and her diary.

Set against the events of the Second World War and the Holocaust, it explores the socio-political climate that made it possible for racial discrimination and persecution to flourish during the 1930s and 1940s. By telling the story of Anne Frank and her world, the exhibition highlights the causes, instruments and dangers of discrimination, and the fragility of democracy. Through the inclusion of material relating to present-day racism, the exhibition emphasises that discrimination, persecution and oppression are not confined to any part of the world or period of history. The Anne Frank exhibition has drawn huge crowds in cities as diverse as Moscow, Tokyo, Berlin, Santiago and New York, and continues its worldwide tour spreading the universal message of tolerance and understanding wherever it goes. Please take this opportunity to see it.

## EVENTS in association with the exhibition.

### LECTURE

"I WANT TO GO ON LIVING AFTER MY DEATH" - ANNE FRANK & HER DIARY.

Dr Rolf Wollwinkel, (Dept. of Afrikaans and Nederlands, UCT)

TUES 1 MAR, 20H00. Albow Centre, Hatfield St, Gardens

### LECTURE

"THE WORK OF THE ANNE FRANK CENTRE"

Dr. Hans Westra. (Director, Anne Frank Centre, Amsterdam).

THUR 10 MAR 17H30. S.A. National Gallery, Annexe Bldg.

### PANEL DISCUSSION

"WITNESSES"

HANNAH PICK-GOSLAR: SURVIVOR (Anne Frank's childhood friend)  
COR GROOTENDORST: RESCUER (Recipient of Yad Vashem Righteous Gentile Award)

MON 14 MAR, 20H00. Albow Centre, Hatfield St, Gardens.

### SYMPOSIUM

Lawyers for Human Rights. "RACE AND THE LAW IN A FUTURE SOUTH AFRICA"

WED 16 MAR, 20H00. Lecture Theatre 1, Willred & Jules Kramer Law School Building, UCT

### LECTURE

"SOUTH AFRICA AND THE HOLOCAUST 1933 - 1990"

Dr Milton Shain (Dept of Hebrew & Jewish Studies, UCT)

MON 21 MAR, 20H00. Albow Centre, Hatfield St, Gardens

### WOMEN'S MEETING

Union of Jewish Women "THE LEGACY OF ANNE FRANK"

an interdenominational women's meeting with HANNAH PICK-GOSLAR: (Childhood friend of Anne Frank) and DR TZILI RIESENBERGER (Dept. of Hebrew & Jewish Studies, UCT)

THUR 10 MAR, 09H45 FOR 10H00. Albow Centre, Hatfield St, Gardens.

### FILM FESTIVAL

18th C. T. International Film Festival 7 - 26 March

The exhibition film component "CHALLENGING RACISM"

HIGHLIGHTS amongst the 15 films include:

THE QUARREL

A compelling story of two survivors of the Holocaust

THE LAST SEVEN MONTHS A documentary tracing the last seven months in the life of Anne Frank.

DARK LULLABIES

Examining the effects of the Holocaust on the children of both victims and survivors.

ONE-DAY WORKSHOP on "CHALLENGING RACISM"

Watch press for details. Enquiries Festival Office TEL: 23-8257/8

### HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERTS

CAPE TOWN SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA  
Conductor: REINHARD SCHWARZ  
Soloist: RIAN DE WAAL

THUR 24 MAR, City Hall

SUN 27 MAR, University of the Western Cape

### MUSIC DRAMA

A CAPAB production

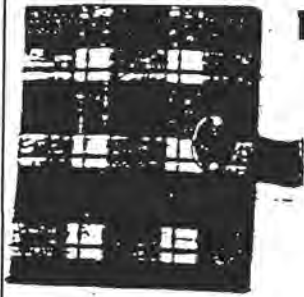
"Anne Anne"

A loving and haunting music drama directed by Leonard Schuch. Anne Frank played by Taryn Sudding. Also starring: Lido Meiring, Keith Grenville, Michael Atkinson, Graham Armitage.

MAR 9 - APR 2, NIGHTLY AT 20h15. Nico Theatre



ANNE FRANK IN THE WORLD EXHIBITION – HERZLIA PRIMARY  
SCHOOLS – STANDARD 4 WORKSHEET (PAGE ONE).



**"ANNE FRANK IN THE WORLD"**

at the



SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL GALLERY,  
Government Avenue, Gardens, Cape Town.

A WORKSHEET FOR SENIOR PRIMARY SCHOOL STUDENTS (PREPARED BY C. ROBINSON, UNITED HERZLIA SCHOOLS)

A. The International-"Anne Frank in the World" Exhibition was brought to South Africa by the Royal Netherlands Embassy and the Jewish Board of Deputies. It is housed in the Hyman Liberman Hall of the South African National Gallery.

1. Who was Hyman Liberman? \_\_\_\_\_
2. The main entrance to this hall has a carved wooden door showing the wanderings of the Jews and the arrival of Jews in South Africa. Who was the carver-artist of these doors? \_\_\_\_\_

B. 1. Where and when was Anna (Anneliese Marie) Frank born? (panel 1)

2. Why did the Frank Family leave Germany? (panel 33-36)

3. The Nazis invaded and occupied Holland in May. They introduced their anti-Jewish laws. Of 140,000 Dutch Jews 25,000 went into hiding, one third of these were betrayed.

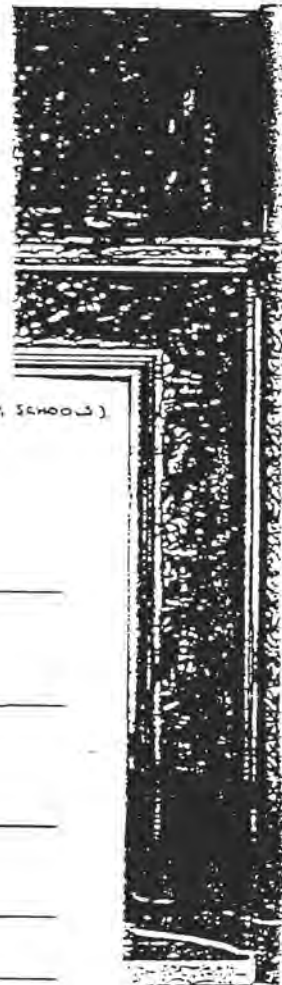
4. Anne received her diary as a gift on her 13th birthday - the date being \_\_\_\_\_ 1942 (panel 56).

5. Her father, Otto Frank, had prepared a hiding place in the annex of his offices on the Prinsengracht Canal. Besides Anne, her parents and sister, Margot, Mr Dussel and the \_\_\_\_\_ family also hid in the secret annex (panel 53). They were hidden by Mr Kraler, Mr Koophuis, Ellie and \_\_\_\_\_ Gentiles who hid Jews are honoured in Israel by being called "Hasidai Ha'umot" (righteous gentiles).

6. The Franks were betrayed and arrested. They were taken to \_\_\_\_\_ camp in Northern Holland.

7. From Holland they were transported "East" to Auschwitz. Anne, Margot and Mrs van Daan were later sent to Bergen Belsen camp in \_\_\_\_\_ (panel 64)

8. Another group persecuted by the Nazi were \_\_\_\_\_





9. What were the "Nuremberg Trials"? (panel 70) \_\_\_\_\_

10. Why do you think Neo Nazis claim that the Diary is a hoax (a lie)? (panel 71) \_\_\_\_\_

### C. APARTHEID AND RESISTANCE - AN EXHIBITION

The Mayibuye Centre of the University of the Western Cape.

Apartheid was a policy separating groups in South Africa where one group of people believed that they were different and better than other groups in the land. This exhibition on Apartheid shows us that here in South Africa prejudice and racism have caused great harm. Though different from the unique and extreme tragedy of the mass murder of the Holocaust, apartheid shares the same roots in prejudice and hatred that divides people and leads to suffering and tragedy.

Choose a single photo or illustration from this exhibit. Study it and read its script. Now carefully describe this photograph and explain what it teaches about apartheid.

### QUESTIONS TO THINK ABOUT

1. Anne Frank wrote her diary as a private personal record. Is it ethically acceptable (right) for us to read the Diary?

2. The Dutch were faced with difficult choices when the Nazis occupied Holland. Some collaborated (helped the Nazis), other resisted, but most were bystanders who did neither. Why do you think people acted in these different ways?

3. Although prejudice cannot easily be fought - the exhibition is an attempt to teach people about the dangers of prejudice. Do you think it succeeds? What would you add to the exhibition to teach this lesson?

4. Had Anne Frank been alive today she would have been 65 years of age. Her grandchildren may have been in your class and may have been your friend.....

Anne Frank died in Bergen Belsen Concentration camp in her fifteenth year.



*"It's really a wonder that I haven't dropped all my ideals because they seem so absurd and impossible to carry out. Yet, I keep them, because in spite of everything I still believe that people are really good at heart."*

Excerpt from Anne Frank's diary  
15 JULY 1942

HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL DAY 1993.

## (i) COMMEMORATION IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AND RELATED EVENTS.

The following list of events illustrates the wide variety of Holocaust related events and the sizable response. In subsequent years the theme changed but the attendance continued to increase.

- March 1993 - South African National Yad Vashem Memorial Foundation sent memorial candles to members of the community.
- March 1993 - Passover edition of Cape Jewish Chronicle carried four pages relating to the Warsaw Ghetto uprising and forthcoming Commemoration e.g. Jacob Gitlin Library advertised available books on the subject.
- April 14-15, 1993 - Cape Town Film Festival Lanzman's '*Shoah*'
- April 1993 - The local press (The Cape Argus and Cape Times) carried Advertisements of the various commemorations.
- April 16, 1993 - Sabbath eve services – The Cape Town Holocaust Memorial Council asked that sermons include or focus on the fiftieth commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising.
- April 18, 1993 - Commemoration Ceremony at the Jewish Cemetery at Pinelands (Appendix C.2 (ii)). Press reports recorded the attendance of 1500 people. Photographs and reports appeared in Die Burger (19 April); the Cape Times (19 April); Atlantic Sun (28 April) and the Cape Jewish Chronicle (May edition).
- April 19, 1993 - A panel of speakers presented an evening of 'The Living Newspaper' which was 'edited' by Israeli guest Freda Keets. The presentation consisted of personal recollections of pre-war Warsaw, audio visual materials and songs and an overview of the role of the youth movements in the Ghetto uprising. Venue – Herzlia High School; 500 people attended.
- April 21, 1993 - Under the joint auspices of the Cape Town Holocaust Memorial Council and the Jessie Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies (University of Cape Town), film director Claude Lanzman presented his film '*Shoah*'. This was followed by articles in The Cape Jewish Chronicle (May 1993) and in The Zionist Record (April 23, 1993).





# YOM HASHOA VEHAGEVURA

יום השואה והנבוכה

1993/5753

DAY COMMEMORATING THE HOLOCAUST AND HEROISM



REMEMBER !

NO OLVIDAR !

זכור !

געדענק !

THIS YEAR MARKS THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

SUNDAY 18 APRIL 1993

11:00 A.M.

PINELANDS CEMETERY NO 2

YOM HASHOA VEHAGEVURA

SUNDAY 18 APRIL 1993 AT 11:00 A.M.

## PROGRAMME

In the Chair	Mr J Saphire
Kindling of Memorial Lights	) Chairman of the She'erith Hapletah
	) Mrs V Fintz
Ani Ma'amin (Please rise and participate - to be sung while the lights are being kindled)	) Cantor J Lichterman
Resistance and Remembrance	)
	) Students of United Herzlia
	) Schools: Brenna Abel, Ruth Lande,
	) Miriam Jacobs, Alan Mirkin, Barry
	) van Emmenes
	) Students of Sea Point High
	) School: Jason Elk, Robyn Green,
	) Tanya Hayman, Dana Lurie, Kevin
	) Noli
Address	His Excellency Dr A Liel,
Shoa and Tekuma - from Holocaust to Ge'ulat Yisrael	Ambassador for the State of Israel
Varshe'	Cantor J Lichterman
Words by S Katcherginsky	
Music by M Gelbart	
English Synopsis of Yiddish Reading	Mrs I Kessler
Yiddish Poetry Reading	Mr A Rubinstein
'In Varshevet Geto iz list Khoydesh Nish / Peysakh has come to the Ghetto again'	
by B Heller	
Partisan Song (Please rise and participate)	Cantor J Lichterman
(1st 4th and 5th verses in Hebrew/Yiddish)	
English Synopsis of Ladino Reading	Mrs I Kessler
Ladino Reading	Mrs V Fintz
'En la memoria del Geto de Varsovia / In Memory of the Warsaw Ghetto'	
English Synopsis of Hebrew Reading	Mrs I Kessler
Hebrew Reading	Prof. Y Gilay
'על הילד אברהם' / The Child Abraham by Nathan Alterman	
Enshi K'Chatzir Yamav (Please rise)	Cantor J Lichterman & Choir
Hatzkara (Remain standing)	Cantor J Lichterman & Choir
U'V'Tzeil Kenatecha (Remain standing)	
Communal Kaddish (Remain standing and participate)	Led by Cantor J Lichterman
Hatikvah (Remain standing and participate)	Led by Cantor J Lichterman & Choir
Choirmaster: Mr Mervyn Garlick	Organist: Mr E Engelbrecht

## 50th Anniversary of Warsaw Ghetto uprising

The 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising will be commemorated on Monday, 19 April at the Herzlia High School Hall (see advert)

The format of the function will be that of a **Living Newspaper - Special Edition** dedicated to the uprising and the different faces of resistance during the Holocaust.

Freda Keet, a dynamic speaker and former Kol Yisrael broadcaster, who will be in Cape Town as an emissary for the IUA-UCF, and who was recently in Poland, will be the Special Guest Editor.

Another imported speaker will be Pinchas Gutter from Toronto, formerly of Cape Town, who was 10 years of age when he lived in the Warsaw Ghetto and personally experienced 4 weeks of the uprising. Miriam Lichterman and Lucien Feigenbaum will speak about their recollections of pre-War Warsaw. Fay Singer will sing a few songs of the Ghetto with a short introduction about song as a 'weapon' during the uprisings, and Danny Kottowitz will speak on the significant role of the Zionist Youth movements.

## LIVING NEWSPAPER

SPECIAL EDITION

to mark the  
50th anniversary of the  
WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

SPECIAL GUEST EDITOR  
FREDA KEET

Kol Yisrael broadcaster  
featuring

- \* 50 Years later - Local Community Perspectives - an audio-visual presentation
- \* Personal recollections of Pre-War Warsaw
- \* Role of the Youth Movements in the Uprising
- \* Experiences of a 10 year old boy in the Warsaw Ghetto
- \* Song as a means of Resistance
- \* The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising - a video documentary

Date: Monday, 19 April 1993 at 8.15 p.m.

Venue: Herzlia High School Hall Highlands

Presented by the Cape Town Holocaust Memorial Council

ISRAEL UNITED APPEAL CAMPAIGN FLYER (1994-95).

COMMUNAL FUNDRAISING DRAWING ON THE HOLOCAUST AS A MOTIF.

**Some Couldn't.  
Now Over 100,000 Will.**



**This Year  
In Jerusalem.**

For Anne Frank, it will always be: "Next year in Jerusalem".

For millions of Jews of the Diaspora, the glorious establishment of Israel came too late.

Now, Jerusalem gathers her scatterling children home, from the far corners of the wide world.

In Russia alone, glasnost has at last released hundreds of thousands of Jews to make Aliyah.

Now there is Eretz Israel. Help them be "this year in Jerusalem".

4. (i) PRESS ARTICLES AND ITEMS CONCERNING THE HOLOCAUST.A SAMPLING FROM THE CAPE ARGUS. (SEPTEMBER 1992 –  
DECEMBER 1994). (PAGE ONE).

Sept 3, 1992	"Savage violent look at yesterday's war." Review <u>Europa</u> . <u>Europa</u> – Owen Williams.
Sept 11, 1992	" <u>Demanjuk</u> " review – Charles J Fourie.
Sept 11, 1992	"CIA comes in from the cold on Nazi lines".
Oct 4, 1992	"The Man who denied the Holocaust was a fraud," Owen Coetzer.
Oct 10, 1992	"Nazi Disneyland deep in Poland's Forests, SAPA.AD. (Magazine Page).
Dec 12, 1992	"Death Riddle of the Swede who saved 100 000 Jews," Nicholas Bethill.
Jan 30, 1993	"Germans prepare to repent."
March 2, 1993	"Death Camp hell halved."
March 13, 1993	"Argentine Files on Nazis opened."
March 17, 1993	"Jews honour princess – a Righteous Gentile."
March 20, 1993	"Holocaust Stamps: Stamp Corner – Xavier Piat.
March 27, 1993	"Jewish Plot to Kill Hitler."
April 3, 1993	"Embeth reliving horrors of Auschwitz for Spielberg <u>Schindler's List</u> ".
April 3, 1993	"Commemorative Stamps", Stamp Corner – Xavier Piat.
April 7, 1993	"Racist Posters mark Hitler's Birthday".
April 8, 1993	"Hitler Should have burnt all Jews" (Dawood Kahn's remark reported with commentary in the day's leader article).
April 10, 1993	"Wake up, Germany!" Tony Catterall.
April 12, 1993	" <u>Shoah</u> " – review.
April 17, 1993	"Germans should ponder Holocaust."
April 17, 1993	"Hani Killing Neo Nazi Links." (Headlines).
April 19, 1993	"Arrest of Skinheads protesting in Warsaw" (Photograph)
April 23, 1993	"Clinton cites S.A. racial violence in Holocaust oration."
April 24, 1993	"Uprising", Owen Coetzer. (full page report).
April 24, 1993	"Rabbi visits Poland" (photograph).
June 17, 1993	"Alleged 'Viva Hitler' cry, leads to assault charge."
July 9, 1993	"Israeli infiltrates the ranks of the Neo Nazis."
July 31, 1993	"Demanjuk will seek asylum in Ukraine."
August 7, 1993	"Demanjuk is free."
August 11, 1993	"Link with Nazi war crime suspect in U.K."
September 3, 1993	"In Israel lobby always seeking sympathy for Hitler's atrocities" (Letter to the Editor).

October 16, 1993	"Anne Frank Exhibition; a lesson for South Africa."
October 16, 1993	"Was Diary Not so Frank."
January 22, 1994	"Saving the Children had to be done." (Cor Grootendorst: Interview).
February 10, 1994	"Schindler's Jews find deliverance again."
February 19, 1994	"Nothing much left of the real Schindler" –Rachel Fixsen (full page).
March 2, 1994	"Finding the unsung hero."
March 2, 1994	"Kingsley on Kingsley" ( <u>Schindler's List</u> – full page).
March 4, 1994	"Schindler's List may rebuild burnt bridges".
March 4, 1994	"Schindler's List Gripping all the way" (Review).
March 16, 1994	"100 000 Germans see 'List' in first four days".
March 20, 1994	"Diary a hit with Rivonia trialists."
March 22, 1994	"Spielberg Movies scoop seven Oscars with Schindler's List Tops", Gill Lord. (Headlines).
March 29, 1994	"Jordan Bass's Schindler."
April 2, 1994	"Toussier claims to have saved many Jews from execution."
April 7, 1994	"Nazi echo halts Berlin football."
April 7, 1994	"Human suicide bomb – Afula; As Israel begins Memorial Day."
April 8, 1994	"The king of Black and White."
April 8, 1994	"Profile – Liam Neelson", News Magazine (two full pages).
April 10, 1994	"Washington balks 'Schindler' against cuts".
April 11, 1994	"Top U.S. support for ' <u>Schindler's List</u> '"
April 12, 1994	"Still no Oscar for Chiune Sugihara's List."
April 12, 1994	"Schindler's wife lists complaints."
April 18, 1994	"Did FDS do enough?" John Elson.
April 28, 1994	" <u>Schindler's List</u> and <u>Jurassic Park</u> earn Spielberg more awards."
June 3, 1994	"Egypt bars 'uncuttable' <u>Schindler's List</u> ."
July 30, 1994	"Suicide after Holocaust film."
October 15, 1994	"Flemish ties for Rightwingers", David Breier.
October 31, 1994	"Ghost of Nuremberg will haunt tribunal."
November 9, 1994	"Jewish jibe enrages Tinsell Town fold", Phil Reeves.
December 3, 1994	"Nazi War criminals find hope in German Unity."
December 12, 1994	"Under the Whispering trees lies 70 000 executed Jews."
December 14, 1994	"Row rages over debunking Hitler myth."



3. (ii) PRESS ARTICLES AND ITEMS CONCERNING THE HOLOCAUST;  
A SAMPLING FROM THE JEWISH PRESS – APRIL/MAY 1993.  
 (PAGE ONE)

CAPE JEWISH CHRONICLE (CAPE TOWN)

April Edition, No. 3, 1993.

Page 11 – ‘Not Like Sheep’ – reported article by Michael Etkins.

Page 12 – Block advertisement for Memorial Service.

Page 13 – Block advertisement for ‘Living Newspaper – Warsaw Ghetto’.

Page 23 – Jacob Gitlin Library – List of books on the Warsaw Ghetto.

May Edition, No. 4, 1993.

Page 1 – Photograph of Memorial Service.

– Claude Lanzman at the Cape Town Film Festival.

Page 3 – Text of Ambassador’s address at the Memorial Service.

Page 4 – IC Column – Report and commentary on the Memorial Service.

Page 17 – Report on Lanzman’s lecture about making ‘*Shoah*’.

JERUSALEM POST – INTERNATIONAL EDITION (JERUALEM)

April 10, 1993 - Review of five books on Holocaust, and the Warsaw Ghetto.

- ‘The Fifth Question’, Moshe Kohn. (Column).

- ‘The Hit on Hitler’ report, Robert Rockaway.

April 17, 1993 - ‘The Warsaw Ghetto is no more’, Moshe Kohn.

- Holocaust archives reveal fate of Soviet Jews in World War II,

- Batsheva Tzur.

- ‘State of the Art of Holocaust Museums’, Moshe Kohn (column).

- ‘Should we Forgive?’ - Rabbi Shlomo Riskin (column).

- ‘The Nazis No One can touch’, Ephraim Zuroff.

April 24, 1993 - ‘Museums carry the past into the future’, Eli Wohlgeleuter.

- ‘*The Seventh Million*’ Tom Segev, Review.

- ‘Antisemitism – Lesson of Germany’ – editorial.

May 1, 1993 - Photograph – front page. First graders standing at attention on Memorial Day.

- Leader article – ‘Perpetuating Memory’.

- ‘Selling a plastic Holocaust’, Manfred Klawer.

- ‘Holocaust Memorial Museum dedicated in United States’, Hillel Kuttler.

- ‘Rabbi joins Walesa and Gore in saluting Ghetto fighters’, Greerfay Cushman.

Subject Matter: According to Dagan the subject matter for the young child must serve to convey a message – ‘the reaffirmation of faith in man and a strengthened moral stance (1987: S.P. 3.5). With this in mind she centres on themes of heroism and helping others.

There can be no stronger basis for faith than in the example of people who retained their dignity and moral sense in the face of indescribable hell (1987: S.P. 3.6).

Teaching through the stories of individuals, the child is stimulated to identify and to express compassion and empathy. The magnitude of the Holocaust remains in the background. Dagan explains:

Neither our imagination nor our emotions can deal with such great numbers (1987: S.P. 3.5).

To facilitate the telling of Holocaust stories to the younger ages, Dagan has written her own stories and poems such as ‘Chika – The Dog in the Ghetto’ and ‘How I Managed to Survive’. Her texts reflect her own experiences as a survivor, but she also borrows texts – most often from Bea Stadtler’s textbook. For the upper grades she reproduces Stadtler’s full text with the original questions, for the younger grades Dagan rewrites and simplifies Stadtler’s texts using colour coding to differentiate between the kindergarten, lower primary and upper primary. Understandably Dagan also deletes the harshest descriptions of atrocities in the story’s adaptation for a young child (1978: S.P. 11). Her selection of texts build in complexity in each progressive grade and in accordance with her understanding of child development.

Dagan is aware of the limited number of lessons available for teaching the Holocaust, but she argues that teaching about the subject around one day a year is not sufficient. She therefore suggests that the subject be integrated with Jewish festivals:

As an opportunity to refer briefly to the *Shoah* throughout the year (1987: S.P. 1). She demonstrates this by suggesting that for Passover preparation, a chapter from Stadtler’s book be used. The chapter, ‘Passover In A Concentration Camp’ was drawn from S.B. Unsorfer’s book The Yellow Star (1961). In addition to reproducing the full text for the older children, Dagan has rewritten the story for the kindergarten. For both groups she suggests drawing on pupils’ knowledge of the festival and then showing the connections with the Passover symbols in the story. She also supplies a few explanatory words by way of introduction – ‘we eat special food ... we read the Haggadah (1987: S.P. 9.1). In this process however Passover is taught through the Holocaust story and the focus on Passover is diminished. Even if there was justification for teaching about Passover observance and the Concentration Camps, Holocaust education should not be permitted to subsume the festival. The introduction of a Holocaust division in each festival would be a distortion tending towards obsession. Alternative methods of sustaining Holocaust education would need to be sought.

The Teacher: Dagan’s concern for the emotional well-being of the pupil is extended to the teachers’. She encourages teachers to deal with their own concerns and anxieties about the subject.

We should teach them early enough and effectively enough to reduce the shock they will receive when they see their first television programme about it (1987: S.P. 5.1).

Dagan explains that teaching must therefore be based on what the child already knows, and she advises drawing not only on prior knowledge about the Holocaust but also drawing on the child's experiences of sorrow and fear.

Dagan's method and content are child-centred and she strives to involve the pupil in exploring facets of the subject through guided exposure that will stimulate discussion. For this purpose she includes specially prepared drawings, poems and techniques of word association activities and 'show and tell' (1987:S.P. 20 & S.P. 4.2.).

The psycho-educational approach advocated by Dagan relies heavily on theories of child development in psychology. She uses these to determine her method and content. Her programme is built according to the gradual development and phases of cognitive and emotional maturity. For example she points out the problem of historical perception in the younger child whose thinking is syncretic and has poor chronological sense, and is at a preconventional level of moral perception orientated towards obedience and punishment.

The above characteristics of the young child's thinking prove clearly that we should not rely on rational explanations because these are beyond his capacity to understand (1987: S.P. 3.4).

Even though Dagan herself writes of the importance of the individual child in her article 'Let's Learn From Our Children' (1987: S.P. 5), the pace and development of the individual child is overwhelmed by her reliance on generalized psycho-educational theories.

Her concern for the psychological implications also motivated her to stress the importance of being open to the child's questions.

It is vital to answer children's questions to preserve their mental health (1987: S.P. 3.3).

She advocates speaking openly about the subject and not make it mysterious or taboo.

Direct confrontation with the topic in an educational setting helps the child to overcome his anxieties and his feelings of helplessness (1987: S.P. 3.6).

Although psychologically sound, Dagan has presumed that there are no time constraints. Her claim that concealing information will heighten the child's anxiety needs to be questioned. Concealments of many sorts and for many reasons do occur and not least of all to protect other pupils in the class who may not be ready for the subject. Dagan's approach in this regard would most aptly be applied in a one-to-one situation between teacher and child, or child and school psychologist. In the context of a classroom full of pupils the effect may be the opposite of the intention and problems may be generated.

questions she tests the values of American society in the context of the Holocaust and draws on the pupils' experience and knowledge of their own (American) society as a means of exploring the subject. For example, after describing Hitler's rise to power, she asks:

The Third Reich was an absolute dictatorship. Could America become one?  
(1974:9)

When a government deceives, who is responsible for seeking out the truth?  
(1974:9)

Although the text is in concert with South African Jewish perspectives of Zionist identity, the use of American values and history as a point of reference would require redefinition in the South African context. Even the commitment to Zionism is based on an American approach where the definition of Zionism is expanded by Stadtler to suit the American context.

(iii) BATSHEVA DAGAN: 1987. *HELPING CHILDREN LEARN ABOUT THE SHOAH*. LONDON: CENTRE FOR JEWISH EDUCATION.

General Description: Batsheva Dagan subtitles her programme 'A Psycho-Educational Approach'. This establishes the guiding principle of her programme which she defines as an introduction for kindergarten to the end of primary school. Published in file format, it contains guidelines and materials for the teacher, introductory essays, notes, a series of grade-appropriate colour-coded texts, a glossary, and a bibliography for further reference.

The essence of her programme is found in her guidelines rather than in the curricular examples she uses to illustrate her principles. She defines them in the following way:

- a step by step approach according to the child's developmental level
- a selective approach to content to avoid trauma
- giving priority to a personal account over a generalization
- a systematic study of the topic from various angles
- taking into account the pupil's emotional state (Dagan 1987: S.P. 3.8)<sup>8</sup>

The student : Dagan's subtitle and her guiding principles demonstrate her primary concern for the well-being and the development of the child. Her curricular kit was prepared for Jewish children to foster identity and understanding.

To involve the child as a compassionate participant in the historical experiences of our people (1987: S.P. 3.8).

She is also sensitive to the difficulties of the subject and calls for a gradual introduction to the subject in order to prevent shock and trauma. She recognizes the need to buffer the impact of the media on the young child.

Children pick up information whether we want them to or not (1987: S.P. 3.2).

For this reason she argues that teaching about the Holocaust should begin at kindergarten level.



Jewish councils (the Judenrat). She also juxtaposes the physical resistance of Anelewicz and the Ghetto fighters with the spiritual resistance of Janus Korczak. Using comparisons particularly through questions, she effectively links chapters – for example she compares the Nazi doctors to Jewish medical ethics; and the Nuremberg Laws and the Nuremberg Trials.

Each story chapter is introduced by placing it in a wider context – thus her chapter on the Vilna Ghetto opens with a reference to the rich history of the Vilna Jewish Community. Stadtler also addressed the lack of overall perspective by adding an introduction to her 1994 revised edition. In this introduction she reflects on the heightened interest of the 1980s and 1990s. She explains the international phenomenon of memorialisation and encapsulates the themes of the book in the concept of commemoration.

All over the world people are learning about the Holocaust and remembering the terrible days between 1940-1945. Let us learn about it, and remember, so that we can tell our children and our grandchildren (1994:89).

The Teacher: Stadtler's book is a reader and does not present itself as a graded curriculum. It is therefore limited in its curricular use. It could best be used in a year long programme in the senior primary classes. In terms of time constraints at Weizmann School such an extensive programme would not be practical. Nonetheless the book's small structured units encourages the selection and application of particular units as was the case in 1993 when the chapter on the Warsaw Ghetto was employed in commemorating the Ghetto uprising.

The texts, sources and questions are presented in self-contained and self-explanatory units, her book offers no other guidelines for teachers. This was addressed by Nancy Karkowsky who prepared a short companion text as a teacher guide, - Discussion Guide For The Holocaust. A History Of Courage and Resistance (Behrman House, 1976).

This guide does not contain much information that is not already in the book, it does attempt to clarify the information ... explore implications ... and to make anyone teaching the book feel more familiar and comfortable [with the subject] (Karkowsky 1976:5).

Karkowsky summarises the chapters, draws out major themes, reflects on the sources and adds additional questions to increase personal relevance for the student. For example she takes Stadtler's reference to Nazi doctors to explore the Hippocratic Oath which she compares with Maimonides' 'Prayer For The Physician'. Karkowsky enhances Stadtler's work by offering 'more of the same' to enrich the scope for teachers. She, however, fails to widen the teachers' background knowledge of the subject and she makes no attempt to confront the difficulties in teaching the subject.

Milieu: Aware of her intended readers, Stadtler designed her textbook for American Jewish pupils with the aim of fostering identification with Jewish history. She balances her text between the Jewish dimension and includes the role of Zionism and Aliyah (immigration to Israel), but she also seeks to inculcate general, moral lessons. In her

- (ii) BEA STADTLER: 1974. THE HOLOCAUST. A HISTORY OF COURAGE AND RESISTANCE. NY: BEHRMAN HOUSE.

General Description: Bea Stadler's book is highly suited to the upper primary school as a comprehensive reader with texts that are well organised and well balanced. She deals with the enormity of the tragedy as a background to a thematic study which is conveyed through short biographies. Employing a story-telling method each chapter is accompanied by subtle sketches and ends with thought-provoking questions. This textbook is regarded as a classic in Jewish primary schools and its popularity is attested to by its reprinting in 1994 twenty years after its initial publication.

The Student: The success and the appeal of Stadler's book lies in the story-telling which is presented in short, self-contained units that make it easily accessible for the primary school student. Her method of story-telling familiarises pupils with content while involving them emotionally in the adventure of the story. Her story chapters focus on heroes which has a strong attraction for the young age group, but she takes this further by exploring the nature of heroism, resistance in the war, and courage. For example, she asks the following questions:

Is a person a hero only if he is successful? (1974:173)

What are the qualities which make on a heroine? (1974:173)

Resistance comes in many forms (1974:87)

As a case in point Stadler's 1994 edition replaced the full chapter on Righteous Gentile, Joop Westerwil, with a concise list of short paragraphs about the most widely known Righteous Gentiles. Even though this widened the field and added names such as Wallenberg and Schindler to her book, the story of Westerwil, being reduced to just a few lines, was lost. With it was lost the narrative impact of the story which is the strength of her other chapters.

Stadler also has a selection of sources which unlike the cumbersome references of Isaacman's book, enrich the story, illustrating it and raising points for discussion. Her choice of question is generally sensitive and draws the children into discussion by calling for their opinions and by having them relate the issues to their own lives. For example Stadler asks:

Was Nuremberg a fair trial in your opinion? (1974:203)

What makes a newspaper dangerous? (1974:117)

What is it about a butterfly which makes it so precious? (1974:128)

Stadler's book can be said to be child-centred, not in Tatelbaum's sense of being about children, but rather as a well designed textbook pitched at the child's level.

Subject Matter: Stadler follows a vast chronology in her themes which include life before the war; Hitler; restrictions; Jewish leadership; Ghettos; Camps; resistance; survival; emigration to Israel; and war trials. In the twenty chapters she explores these themes by focusing on stories about central personalities, and she offers different examples that illustrate the complexity of the reactions. For example she has various chapters on different types of Jewish leadership such as the rabbis and the heads of

Tatelbaum's concern for an appropriate approach to engender identity blurs the subject of the Holocaust. Similarly the amorphous biographical approach also blurs the vast differences in events that occurred in the different countries of Europe. Geographical differentiation would not have been inappropriate in terms of pupils' knowledge and familiarity with world geography.

The reference to famous personalities such as Chanah Senesh and Janus Korczak, and the numerous succinct quotations from the period, for example from Pastor Niemoller, Samuel Zygelbaum (1985:50) and Martin Buber (1985:34), serves to widen the field of the textbook and partially helps to redress the onesided focus on children.

The Teacher: The teacher is perceived to be the tool for the implementation of the prescribed text. The only reference to the teacher is found in the introduction:

The book welcomes the teacher's active participation and incorporates teacher-student interaction as an integral part of the course (1985: Introduction).

Tatelbaum, however, offers no guidelines for achieving this, despite a very structured text, a prescribed and self-contained format. In contrast, the case study of Weizmann School demonstrated the urgency with which teachers sought guidance and guidelines in bringing the subject into the classroom.

The Milieu: Tatelbaum is committed to Jewish continuity and his approach is particularistic born of the desire to secure Jewish self-preservation in what he perceives to be a hostile world. Thus his chapters are titled, 'Where Was The World?' (Chapter 14) and 'Can It Happen Again?' (Chapter 16). He warns that the Holocaust could happen again even in a democratic society.

The Nazis came to power not by a revolution but through the democratic process.

Having happened, it can happen again (1985:160).

In contrast, and in order to foster national and religious identity, he intersperses his text with quotations whose origins are biblical, traditional or contemporary. In this way he presents the full text of the Israeli Declaration of Independence which specifically promises a haven for Holocaust survivors (1985:78).

Tatelbaum's commitments are shared by the Herzlia schools and they correspond to the school's national traditional ethos which emphasizes Israel's role as a refuge and a homeland. But the analysis of this textbook demonstrated that its approach is limited by virtue of its narrow focus on children of the Holocaust and the distortions that could arise from such an approach.

While the textbook proved to be accessible it offered the teacher little guidance, and required teachers devise their own methods of mediation to cope with the dilemmas associated with teaching the subject.

In a chronological sense the pupil would be of the same age, the geographical and historical differences however, preclude the direct identification which Tatelbaum has taken for granted. The experiences, dilemmas and struggle for survival referred to by survivors as their 'lost' or 'stolen' childhood, are completely outside the realm of experience of the present day pupil. After describing their pre-war life Tatelbaum asks –

Are these children different from you and your friends?' (1985:15).

This represents the key test of his entire approach and he presumes an affirmative answer. Pupils in the case study in Cape Town, however, would be hard pressed to identify with, for example, the ultra-orthodox children in Poland, or with the style and manner of the photographs which they would more readily identify with the childhood of their grandparents.

Another assumption is summed up in Tatelbaum's declaration at the end of his book.

We assume our responsibility to actively transmit this knowledge. It is part of our history, and Jewish history is an active inseparable part of our life (1985:181).

He assumes that pupils actively identify with Jewish history as an integral part of their lives. While this was found to be the case in the study of the pupils at Weizmann, such a generalization would not be true of pupils of many other institutions of Jewish education. In addition the harshness of his material, the severity of some of the descriptions and the disturbing photographs<sup>7</sup> could serve to negate this identification and could alienate the pupils from their history.

Subject Matter: Tatelbaum has focused on key concepts central to the subject. His generalised biography of children follows the chronology of events.

Each unit thus preparing the student for the next chapter of Holocaust history (1985: Introduction).

The chapters therefore follow the order of life before the Holocaust, the changing situation; the Ghetto; deportation and camps; resistance and world responses. Although reflecting the reality of the death of one and a half million children, he does not describe survivors and survival which are not features of his composite biography. Nonetheless Tatelbaum states that he presents the Holocaust period in its entirety. Similarly, by his own admission, he states:

The book is devoted solely to the Holocaust as perceived by children (1985: Introduction).

His questionable assumption that pupils will identify with children has yet another effect in that it creates the impression that the Holocaust was a war against children – albeit Jewish children, carried out by adults who were Nazis. In the Introduction he explains:

These were not children who were just swept away in the course of events [they were] Jewish children who suffered from a step by step process of legislation, directives and decrees and transports that were specifically designed and decreed against them by the Nazis (1985:4).

The Nazis leaders were obsessed with the idea of moulding perfect German children (1985:4).



Peretz and Dlin employed a standardized and structured format for analysing published textbooks for senior school. In contrast no such standard textbooks existed for Holocaust studies in the primary school where materials were more eclectic and appeared as units, anthology-readers and kits. Nonetheless, their approach based on the commonplaces provided a useful means for analysis and comparison. It also provided a means for examining the potential application of the texts for usage in the case study at Weizmann thereby taking the 'theoretical potential' toward what Ben-Peretz termed 'potential for implementation' (Ben-Peretz, 1977).

- (i) ITZCHAK TATELBAUM: 1985. THROUGH OUR EYES – CHILDREN WITNESS THE HOLOCAUST. CHICAGO: IBT PUBLISHERS.

General Description: This text is designed as a textbook for senior primary and junior middle school levels. It is neatly presented in clear print with uncluttered texts, photographs and illustrations making it easily accessible for classroom implementation by teachers and pupils. The book is a collage of original texts drawn from the diaries and memoirs of forty children from the Holocaust period. The text creates a composite and collective biography of the childrens' experiences, contrasting their lives before the war with their fate during the Holocaust. These experiences include ghettos, camps, resistance and rescue. The book is introduced by a chapter, 'What Is The Holocaust?' and concluded with chapters 'Could It Happen Again?' and 'Hope'. Throughout the photo-literary text, pages are divided, on the left are quotations from the children, and on the right are terse historical notes. In this way a framework is created for tracing the chronology and developments of the period. Each chapter concludes with a section of questions which are intended to stimulate discussions.

The Pupil: Tatelbaum views his approach as being child-centred with the aim of nurturing a sense of discovery.

The student becomes involved in a process of discovery of the facts and realities of the Holocaust era, as well as the more personal aspects (1985: Introduction). Despite this, Tatelbaum's motivation is based on the importance he places on the Jewish child identifying with the events and the impact of the Holocaust on the Jewish people. His book is therefore didactic in intention and authoritative in manner as lessons are spelled out in bold lettering and to be learnt by the student. For example Tatelbaum concludes:

We are commanded to fulfil the following *mitzvot* (precepts) Remember ... Do not Forget! (1985:167).

Based on the assumption that a contemporary child will identify emotionally and cognitively with the children of the Holocaust, Tatelbaum uses their words and photographs in order to have the present day pupil 'accompany' the children on the nightmare journey.

Now you can begin to comprehend ... you can feel, understand and identify with them personally (1985:3).

These children were of the same age as you (1985:6).

Six of the accounts are of Jewish survivors from across Europe who told of their different experiences of camps, ghettos, resistance and Righteous Gentiles. An important inclusion is the account given by Claus Heck, a Nazi soldier whose innocent faith in Hitler's promises reflects the German perspective and raises questions about the personal responsibility of the bystander and of the perpetrator. An even more remarkable inclusion is the testimony of Leon Bass, a black American soldier, himself a victim of racial prejudice in America, and who was one of the liberators of Buchenwald. His testimony raises questions about racism in all societies. Throughout the text, but particularly in this account, Isaacman provided a balance between the particularity of the Holocaust of the Jews and universal lessons about prejudice and racism.

The Jews were not the only victims ... they turned against all minorities who spoke for truth and freedom ... persecution will not end until antisemitism and all other forms of religious and racial intolerance have been eradicated (Isaacman 1988:23).

The testimonies, documents and suitable photographs are all eminently suited to the upper primary school, this is not true, however, of the quotations introduced by Isaacman at the end of each section, and intended to stimulate debate. The quotations are lengthy and drawn from a wide range of theological and traditional texts that are sophisticated and not always directly related to the account, thus giving rise to obfuscation even for an adult reader. Furthermore the questions call for facile simulation and for value judgements that ignore the complexities of the circumstances and diminish the impact of the accounts. For example in the case of David whose mother was held hostage by the SS, Isaacman asks the following questions:

Did David do the right thing in trading himself in for the release of his mother?  
What would you have done? (Isaacman 1988:57).

While the text is well suited to the eleven to fourteen year age group, the questions and the discussion section are not appropriate. Close review of textbooks as in this case and especially of those designed for primary schools, exposed educational shortcomings but also revealed the potential uses of such materials.

## 2. TEXTBOOKS: PRIMARY SCHOOL

From amongst the wide variety of textbooks reviewed for this study only three were specially prepared for the primary school level. These three were all designed for Jewish education in the Diaspora but they differed in their approach, method and content. These texts were closely scrutinized and subjected to rigorous content analysis.

Miriam Ben-Peretz suggested an approach to content analysis which she based on the four commonplaces and for which she devised a series of questions, clustered around each of the commonplaces in order to reveal what she has referred to as the 'potential of the text' (Ben-Peretz, 1977). Elly Dlin reworked her model which was specific and rigid, intended as it was for natural science textbooks. He applied her model for use in the analysis of High School curricula for teaching the Holocaust (Dlin, 1991). Both Ben-

Holocaust in the video 'Where Shall We Go'<sup>4</sup> (Supple 1993: Preface XII).

Karen Shawn developed her textbook for the study of the Holocaust in a similar manner. Aimed at the Middle School, her book, The End Of Innocence – Anne Frank In The Holocaust (1989) follows the developments in the life and writing of Anne Frank which are used as points of departure for exploring the wider context of the Holocaust. Shawn also pointed out that she chose Anne Frank because she was a teenager of the age with which the students could identify.

The purpose of this curriculum is to help your students begin to understand Anne Frank and through her eyes, the war Hitler and the Nazis waged against the Jews of Europe. Anne's viewpoint of the Holocaust is invaluable because she was a teenager and had the same interests and concerns as your teenage students.<sup>5</sup> (Shawn: 1989).

As with other such presentations, Shawn's choice of method is not simply – a way into the subject', but is an integral part of the content for study even though it focuses on a very small area of the subject. A case in point is Naomi Cassuto's textbook 'Amdah Ye 'hudit Ba 'Shoah' (A Jewish Stand in the Holocaust) (n.d.) which studies ghetto life. Although she presumes some general knowledge about the Holocaust, her approach is through the case study of the art produced in the 'Model Ghetto' of Thereisenstadt where art work produced a powerful visual record.<sup>6</sup>

Clara Isaacman's textbook Pathways Through The Holocaust (1988) is intended for the lower Middle School and as such lends itself to usage in the upper primary school. The content of her book make this consideration even more compelling. Like Carrie Supple, Isaacman also uses testimonies of survivors albeit in a different way. She subtitled her book 'An Oral History By Eye Witnesses, and rather than weave the testimonies into the history, she introduces the subject with two chapters of historical overview leaving the testimonies to speak for themselves. The short chapters of history cover the wide span of modern Jewish history, antisemitism, the rise of Hitler, and the Holocaust; though not a history textbook these chapters serve as an effective background. The eight eye witness accounts and the illustrated history are clear and well selected, dealing with the horror and other difficult issues without dwelling on them. The editor, herself a survivor, establishes an immediate rapport with the reader as she takes the reader in trust as a survivor appealing for the reader's understanding.

It is not always easy to understand ... these are true stories told by Holocaust survivors. They do not want to relive their pain [but] they are telling you what they can bear to remember hoping that you have a strong desire to understand (Isaacman 1988:7).

Although a curricula module rather than a textbook, the Yad Vashem Poster Series (1990) is a further example of an Israeli-centred approach. Prepared for use in Middle and High Schools, it draws on visual impact and the analysis of original photo materials. Photographs have appropriate written texts, and juxtapositioning invites interesting comparisons. Essentially an illustrated history, it is also an example par excellence of the Zionist approach with the concluding panel concentrated on '*Gevurah*' (Resistance) and '*Tehiyah*' (Rebirth and Stategood. There is a conspicuous disregard for the possibility of viable Jewish life in the Diaspora. This contrasts with another series, the Wiesenthal Centre poster collection, The Courage To Care (n.d.) where the concluding panels show survivors building their new homes in America.

Another type of publication for schools is the anthology, such as Flame And Fury (1962) which is a compilation of source texts for Jewish education. The emphasis in this case is not the teaching of the subject but a manual for preparing commemorative ceremonies with appropriate poems, reading and source material.

David Altshuler compiled a reader and workbook for the Middle School pupil by reworking Lucy Davidowicz's Holocaust text – The War Against The Jews 1933-45 (1975). His volume titled Hitler's War Against The Jews – A Young Reader's Version (1979), was designed as a textbook with selected salient source texts and key points from Davidowicz's book which he had developed into subjects for discussion.

The presentation of the numerous textbooks for history studies all make ample use of source materials such as documents, diary extracts, memoirs and photographs. The method and approach, however, vary considerably. For example, Seymour Rossel employed sources (especially archival photographs) as both the method and the content of his textbook The Holocaust – The World And The Jews 1933-45 (1992).

The Holocaust did happen ... this book that you are reading is a book of evidence ... you will view actual photographs (Rossel 1992:12).

He guides the student in skills and techniques for 'reading' the photographs. Rossel also presents the reader with issues and dilemmas that emerge from the situation portrayed in the source material.

Challenging teenagers with dilemmas that faced children in the Holocaust was a much favoured approach based on the psychological and cognitive development of the teenager and their proclivity to identify with children of their own age. Thus, for example, Nili Keren devised a textbook based on dilemmas: Yeladim Mitlabtīm - Dilemmas of Children in the Holocaust (1989). Semadar Ravid used the same approach in her textbook, Po Ve'lo Sham (1989). In contrast Carrie Supple employed a different approach, and though she too drew on a multitude of sources, her textbook is based on the principle of 'giving a face to the masses'. In it she wove the biographies of four local survivors into her programme showing how their stories reflected the historical events:

Every chapter contains the words and pictures of named individuals ... and the stories of four survivors. They speak of their lives before, during and after the



## HOLOCAUST EDUCATION : TEXTBOOKS

In the analysis of interpretations of the Holocaust in different settings, it became clear that the context not only shapes the memory of the Holocaust, but also determines the goals for Holocaust education. Textbooks offered concrete examples of this and analysis and comparison of textbooks opened a rich resource for furthering this investigation.

The importance of the textbook as a consequence and a manifestation of a national or communal ethos was noted in the study. In Chapter One reference was made to the place of the Holocaust in general textbooks and in the wider scheme of curricula of different contexts. Another category of textbook, one that is specifically devoted to the subject of the Holocaust, warranted more thorough evaluation especially for its content, presentation and mediation of the subject.

The majority of textbooks and curricular units designed for Holocaust education, have been written for high schools. Before analysing the few books specifically intended for primary schools, a review of the high school materials served to highlight the wide range of options, goals, approaches, methods and selection of content that were employed in translating the subject into curriculum.

### 1. TEXTBOOKS: MIDDLE AND HIGH SCHOOL

An array of high school textbooks and units exist for teaching the history of the Holocaust in state schools in the United States. The most widely used was Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust And Human Behaviour (Strom & Parsons 1982). This is a comprehensive history of the Holocaust which served as a case study of racial prejudice. Its stated aim is the teaching of individual responsibility for maintaining the values of democracy and pluralism, and combatting any forms of prejudice. Programmes of this nature were published in numerous states in America in the late 1970s and the 1980s.<sup>1</sup> Similarly and with similar goals, high school Holocaust textbooks began to be published in Britain in the 1990s – especially in response to the place secured for the Holocaust in the new National Curriculum.<sup>2</sup> Examples from Britain are Carrie Supple's text tailored for the National Curriculum and titled 'From Prejudice to Genocide' – Learning About The Holocaust (1993); and Ronnie Landau's textbook The Nazi Holocaust (1992).

In Israel history textbooks were also developed at this time. The perspective was, however, an Israeli centred one that focused on Zionism during and after the war, and on Israel as a refuge and a homeland. The approach is found in the widely used textbook by Gutman and Schatzker – The Holocaust And Its Significance (1983) which was also translated into English for use in Jewish education in the Diaspora. Semadar Ravid's Middle School textbook Po Ve'Lo Sham (1989)<sup>3</sup> also espouses a Zionist orientation.



<u>Max and Helen</u>	1990	Phillip Savill (United States and Britain).
<u>Murderers Amongst Us</u>	1989	Brian Gibson (Great Britain, United States and Hungary).
<u>The Music Box</u>	1989	Costa Gavras (United States).
<u>The Nasty Girl</u>	1991	Michael Verhoeven (Germany). (Original Title: <i>Das Schreckliche Madchen</i> ).
<u>The Occult History of the Third Reich</u>		
	1991	Dave Flitton (4 Part Series) Television
<u>Playing For Time</u>	1980	Daniel Mann (United States)
<u>Reunion</u>	1990	Jerry Schatzberg (United States).
<u>The Rose Garden</u>	1989	Jerry Schatzberg (United States).
<u>Schindler's List</u>	1994	Steven Spielberg (United States).
<u>Shoah</u>	1985	Claude Lanzman (France).
<u>Skokie</u>	1981	Herbert Wise (United States).
<u>Sophie's Choice</u>	1982	Alan Pakula (United States).
<u>Triumph of the Spirit</u>	1989	Arnold Kopelson (United States).
<u>Voyage of the Damned</u>	1976	Stuart Rosenberg (United States).
<u>The Wall</u>	1982	Robert Markowitz (United States).
<u>Wallenberg: A Hero's Story</u>	1985	Lamont Johnson (United States) Television
<u>War and Love</u>	1985	Moshe Mizrahi (Israel).
<u>War and Remembrance</u>	1988	Dan Curtis (United States) Television
<u>Winds of War</u>	1983	Dan Curtis (United States) Television
<u>The Wonderful, Horrible Life of Leni Reifensahl</u>		
	1992	Ray Muller (Great Britain) Television

5. SAMPLING OF FILM AND VIDEO MATERIAL CONCERNING THE HOLOCAUST AND VIEWED DURING 1992-94. (MAIN CIRCUIT CINEMA, FILM FESTIVALS, PUBLIC TELEVISION, AND CABLE TELEVISION). (PAGE ONE).

TITLE	YEAR	DIRECTOR
<u>Alan and Naomi</u>	1992	Sterling Von Wageren (United States).
<u>Ambulance</u>	1962	Janusz Morganstern (Poland).
<u>The Assault</u>	1986	Fons Rademakers (Netherlands).
<u>The Assisi Underground</u>	1984	Alexander Ramati (United States).
<u>The Attic</u>	1988	John Erman (United States).
<u>Au Revoir Les Enfants</u>	1987	Louis Malle (France).
<u>Cabaret</u>	1972	Bob Fosse (United States).
<u>A Day in October</u>	1990	Kenneth Madsen (United States/Denmark) Television
<u>Dear Kitty</u>	1987	Anne Frank Centre (Netherlands) Television
<u>The Diary of Anne Frank</u>	1959	George Stevens (United States).
<u>Enemies: A Love Story</u>	1989	Paul Mazursky (United States).
<u>Escape From Sobibor</u>	1987	Fred F Sears (United States).
<u>Europa, Europa</u>	1991	Agnieszka Holland (Germany).
<u>The Exiles</u>	1989	Richard Kaplan (United States) Television
<u>Exodus</u>	1960	Otto Preminger (United States).
<u>For Those I Loved</u>	1984	Robert Enrico (France).
<u>A Friendship in Vienna</u>	1988	Arthur Allan Seidelman (United States).
<u>The Garden of the Finzi Continis</u>	1970	Vittoria De Sica (Italy).
<u>Genocide</u>	1973	Michael Darlow (Great Britain) Segment in <u>World At War</u> Series.
<u>Goebbels, Master of Propaganda</u>	1992	Laurence Reese (Great Britain) BBC. Television
<u>Hannah's War</u>	1991	Menachem Golan (Israel).
<u>Heimat</u>	1984	Edgar Reitz (Germany) Television
<u>Hitler's SS: Portrait of Evil</u>	1985	Jim Goddard (United States) Television
<u>Holocaust</u>	1978	Marvin Chomsky (United States) TV.
<u>Judgement At Nuremberg</u>	1961	Stanley Kramer (United States).
<u>Julia</u>	1977	Fred Zinneman (United States).
<u>Korczak</u>	1990	Andrej Wajda (Poland).
<u>The Last Butterfly</u>	1991	Karel Kachyna (Poland).
<u>The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank</u>	1987	Willy Landurer (Netherlands).
<u>Lena, My Hundred Children</u>	1987	Ed Sherin (United States).
<u>The Marathon Man</u>	1976	John Schlesinger (United States).
<u>A Matter of Conscience</u>	1989	John Rubinstein (United States).

- 'Memory the eternal avenger', interview of Ghetto survivors.
- 'Palmach indebted to Warsaw Martyrs', Ernie Meyer.
- 'Neo Nazi strength underestimated by Germany.'
- April 2, 1993 - 'Irish Eyes are weeping for Anne Frank', Prime Minister.
- 'Robinson visits Anne Frank Exhibition', Asher Benson.
- 'German refugees plan new pension claims', Ruth Rothenberg.
- 'Holocaust Revisionism', News Brief, Martin Gilbert.
- 'Karen Gershon – A Survivor's death' (Half page obituary).
- 'Education Minister addresses Greer Memorial Ceremony'.
- 'Uneasy visit to the past', Peter Miller.
  
- April 16, 1993 - Letters to the editor:
  - Response to Peter Muller's article.
  - Three letters protesting the convent at Auschwitz.
- 'Anger over proposals to tax Jews for property confiscated by Nazis.'
- 'Dangers in centralizing the Holocaust', Rabbi Vernon Salomon.
- 'Collector's Corner' – Commemorative stamps- Mev Persoff.
- 'Flames of Anger', Rabbi Daniel Farhu.
- 'Warsaw Ghetto as reported in 1943.'
- Book review of four Holocaust books.

Adults can help children cope if they are prepared to explore their own attitudes and anxieties which may be linked with traumatic experiences of the *Shoah* (1987: S.P. 3.7).

She therefore supplies a question sheet for the teacher in which personal feelings and knowledge can be clarified. She envisages this self exploration being carried out in a preparatory seminar for teachers, and with professional guidance as an opportunity 'to share experiences and give mutual support' (1987: Introduction).

The case study at Weizmann revealed precisely such a need in which experiences and personal concerns of teachers could be expressed and shared. The facilitator would have to have the sensitivity that Dagan exudes, in order to guide such a meeting, and to ensure that it is not reduced to just the pragmatics of teaching.

Despite her concern for the teacher, Dagan's ultimate priority remains with the pupils, and the teacher's role is defined as the responsible implementation of the programme.

Each teacher will have to decide whether the material is suitable for the class (1987: Introduction).

The case study demonstrated, however, that this approach had resulted in fragmentation, repetition and a lack of development. The teacher's preparatory meeting suggested above could therefore add to its agenda a global overview of Holocaust education in the school system, analysis of a primary school curriculum, guidelines, and discussion about implementation.

The Milieu: The impact of the milieu, and especially of the media and its psychological implications for the child, are Dagan's chief motivation for bringing the subject to the youngest of children. Her premise for teaching children at kindergarten age is misplaced in regard to children outside of Israel. While all children in Israel are exposed to *Yom Ha'Shoah*, the child in the Diaspora, as she herself points out, does not have this experience and at kindergarten age has no need for such exposure through her programme. While this may be the case, the question remains as to the appropriate age to introduce the child to the subject, and the impact of the media remains a central issue in such a decision.

Dagan interprets Holocaust denial in contemporary society in psychological terms of 'pain', 'repression' and 'fears of repetition', and she calls for confronting these in lessons she deems appropriate for all of society.

The *Shoah* was man-made ... it must be looked upon in a universal human context as a problem for humankind and not just a Jewish problem (1987: S.P. 3).

She suggests that this is especially true for Jews and gentiles outside of Israel, because in Israel *Yom Ha'Shoah* gives the official recognition and offers a channel for expression. Such concerns about society's repression and guilt again seem to be assumptions based on psychological theories which would have to be investigated to see if they are valid in the field.



Dagan's programme is intended to introduce the subject to the child in pre-adolescence, and she presumes this will be followed by a comprehensive study of the subject in adolescence. In reality most pupils in the United States and in Britain (where her programme was devised), end their Jewish education at the Barmitzvah age of twelve and thirteen years. Dagan's programme as a Holocaust curriculum needs to be considered in the light of this reality since it may be the only Holocaust education a pupil will ever receive. In the context of the Herzlia school system this limitation would not exist since the Herzlia primary school pupils graduate encountering further programmes of Holocaust education in the Herzlia Middle and High Schools.

### 3. TEXTBOOKS AND THEIR USES

Leah Adar and Seymour Fox point out that curricula undergo numerous transformations and interpretations as they are taken from the initial planning stage to that of teacher interpretation, implementation and fulfilment in the classroom (Adar & Fox 1978). This overview of materials did not go further than the stage of interpretation even though evaluation of curricular potential in a given context is best achieved through practical experimentation. Despite this the analysis of textbooks and particularly of primary school texts uncovered a bounty of potential resources for application in the Herzlia Weizmann context.

The existing texts for primary schools that were analysed, were readers and curricular units rather than textbooks or comprehensive school wide curricula. They were also indicative of the attempts that were being made in the late 1980s and early 1990s to fill the existing vacuum of Holocaust materials for the primary school classroom.

Each compiler had acknowledged the complexity of the field and the difficulties in finding suitable methods and content for the young pupil. By narrowing their goals to a specific focus, however, they have responded ultimately to one or perhaps two commonplaces at the expense of the others. For example, Tatelbaum's method and especially Dagan's reliance on theory, resulted in programmes based on theories of child psychology which then subsumed any consideration of different needs existing in the various contexts in which their texts may have been used. In contrast Bea Stadtler's work responded directly to the American context, although ironically because its strength lay in its story-book structure, it has enjoyed wide international acceptance.

Programmes once analysed, offered wider multi-disciplinary approaches to the study of the subject. Their uses, at the least, lay in their potential as resource texts for the teachers' reference. The division into small units of all three primary school texts, made them especially conducive to application and Dagan herself drew directly on Stadtler's stories and questions. Direct application and transference of textbooks was ruled out because of the sui generis context of each text and each setting, but their potential for application could be realized if time was devoted to revealing their ideological and methodological assumptions, and if limitations were recognized and addressed. Moreover for this to

succeed and for suitable application to occur, teachers would require training in skills such as the method for content analysis used in this study of textbooks.

And even in so doing the shortcomings of such methods need to be recognized. Thus Dlin's criteria for content analysis of Holocaust textbooks may be useful in evaluating standardized high school history texts, but his starting point was the subject and the textbook – to which he brings the context. The nature of the primary school is different and the content rather than being standardized, was eclectic and variable with each context, so that the textbook must be brought to the case for application. Even more ideally, the textbook should emerge from the case. In such a process the uniqueness of the setting would be recognized and curricular units could be borrowed and applied, or created, in order to pilot and evaluate a programme that could eventually crystallize into a full graded curriculum with appropriate textbooks. It would appear that no shorter route exists, and even if aesthetically appealing, glossy and packaged curricula and textbooks did exist, at best they would be useful in creating a bank of resources upon which the teacher could draw.



## APPENDIX D

### HOLOCAUST EDUCATION : TEXTBOOKS

#### NOTES

1. Examples of American publication include the following:

FURMAN, H. 1983: The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience State of New Jersey. Dept. Of Education A.D.L. Publication.

WEBB, A. 1979: The Holocaust, A Study of Genocide Curriculum Bulletin 1978-9 Series No 13. Board of Education of the City of New York.

2. GCSE and National Curriculum: History Key Stage 3. Case Study Unit – The Era of the Second World War.
3. The title of Semadar Ravid's *Po Ve'Lo Sham* (1989) is drawn from the diary of Rutka Liebllich in the Androchev Ghetto. It is translated as 'Here And Not There'.
4. The video 'Where Shall We Go' produced by Nick Hudson and Carrie Supple (Swingbridge Video, 1991) consists of interviews of the four survivors residing in Newcastle where Supple piloted her work in a local school. It was designed to accompany her textbook 'From Prejudice To Genocide – Learning About The Holocaust' published by Trentham Books in 1993.
5. A similar approach was suggested by Nili Keren using the literary work by Hans P. Richter – Friedrich. Dr Keren presented an illustrated application in a lecture at the David Yellin Teachers Seminary, Jerusalem (19 March 1991).
6. Accounts of the extraordinary art produced in Thereisenstadt are to be found in The Artists of Terezin by Gerald Green (Hawthorn Books, N.Y. 1969) and I Never Saw Another Butterfly by Hana Volakova (ed) (Schocken NY, 1983).
7. Tatelbaum included a disturbing photograph of a soldier shooting a mother and child (1985:83) and a haunting photograph of a victim crawling and begging or perhaps dying (1988:145).
8. The pagination is in accordance with Dagan's page system in her kit.

## APPENDIX D HOLOCAUST EDUCATION : TEXTBOOKS

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- LANDAU, R. 1992 The Nazi Holocaust. London: Tauris.
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- ROSSEL, S. 192 The Holocaust – The World And The Jews 1933-45. NY: Behrman House.
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- STADTLER, B. 1974 The Holocaust: A History of Courage and Resistance. NY: Behrman House.
- STROM, M.S. and PARSONS, W.S. 1982 Facing History And Ourselves. Holocaust And Human Behaviour. Watertown, Mass: International Education.
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- WIESENTHAL CENTRE n.d. The Courage to Care – Wiesenthal Centre Poster Series. Los Angeles.
- YAD VASHEM 1990 Yad Vashem Poster Series. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem.

**OVERVIEW**

On writing of children's literature with Jewish themes, Liz Koltun in the 1970s, described a general paucity and bleakness in the field (Koltun, 1973). She did never-the-less identify a small number of books on the Holocaust; these included books by Esther Hautzig (1968); Judith Kerr (1972); Marietta Moskin (1972) and Hans Peter Richter (1970) all of which became classic texts in children's literature.

In the 1980s the field began to expand and by the middle of that decade Marcia Posner was able to describe a flourishing 'golden age' of Jewish children's literature which included many new titles in Holocaust literature. Posner wrote:

General trade publishers and Jewish publishers are producing books intended to convey Jewish content ... and also books specifically meant to teach about Jewish holidays, the Holocaust and Life Cycle events (Posner, 1986).

Posner also noted the publication of Bea Stadtler's book The Holocaust. A History of Courage and Resistance (1973) which was the first substantial English language book intended for teaching about the Holocaust through a literary format.

The contribution of Holocaust literature for teaching children about the subject was noted amongst other by Eric Kimmel, Lisa Kuhmerker, and Barbara Marinak. Kimmel emphasized its role in reaching beyond the limitations of historical study by engaging children's feelings (Kimmel, 1975). Kuhmerker recognized it as a means of fusing cognitive knowledge with affective involvement (Kuhmerker 1986) and Marinak writes:

The child becomes immersed in the facts (historical perspective), the experiences (personal accounts), the consequences (historical reflection) and responsibility (social commentary) (Marinak 1993).

The plethora of books that have emerged since the 1980s has resulted in numerous bibliographies. Correlating with the formal introduction of the subject at Middle School and High School level, these bibliographies typically focus on these age groups. Thus for example the Annotated Bibliography in the Washington Memorial Museums volume, Teaching About The Holocaust (1996), disregards the primary school age group and begins with the Middle School level. Because it presumes a first encounter with the subject for the Middle School student, the bibliography encompasses introductory books better suited for the Primary School. In the case study an inverse effect was observed whereby the earlier exposure of the Herzlia Primary School children resulted in their readiness for more sophisticated and advanced Holocaust literature.

The bibliographies are useful in their delineation of areas and categories which assist in their integration from numerous angles of the curriculum. For example the Annotated Bibliography (1996) focuses on literary genre (general, specialized, biography, fiction and memoirs). Eric Kimmel (1975) adopts a thematic approach (Resistance Books; Refugee Books; Hiding Books and Books About Camps). Both Karen Shawn (1994) and

Marcia Posner (1986) categorize the books according to age levels (Grades 2-4; 5-6; 7-8; 9-12; and Preschool – 8 years; 8-12 years; 12 years plus). Shawn emphasizes that such categories can only be approximate and are a subjective choice which she explains requires consideration also of the child's abilities, interests, background and historical understanding. Shawn also emphasizes the importance of the teachers knowledge of books, content, themes, genre and 'the ability to bring the book forward at the right time' (Shawn 1994).

A sampling of pages from a selection of books for children demonstrates the variety of approaches of texts and illustrations in children's literature on the subject of the Holocaust. For example there are story books e.g. The Tattooed Torah (Ginsburg 1983) (Ref. 4); photo collections e.g. The Children We Remember (Abells 1987) (Ref. 1); and explanatory books that tackle the subject e.g. Remember Not To Forget (Finkelstein 1985) (Ref. 3); and Promise of a New Spring (Klein 1981) (Ref. 6). Prompted by multiculturalism and teaching tolerance of minorities, the subjects of prejudice and racism often appear in recommended bibliographies for Holocaust education e.g. The Sneetches and Other Stories (Seuss 1965) (Ref. 7) and People (Spier 1980) (Ref. 8). The important role of illustrations in mediating and conveying content is evident in the pictorial dimensions of all these books and especially in a comparison of three very different approaches in Rose Blanche (Innocenti 1985) (Ref. 5); The Number On Grandfather's Arm (Adler 1987) (Ref. 2) and Let The Celebrations Begin (Wild and Vivas 1991) (Ref. 9).

Karen Shawn suggests criteria for children's Holocaust literature. Her recommendations are based on the ability to reflect a historical reality and authenticity without traumatizing the reader; the fostering of identification with the victims and survivors; and the recognizability of human experiences. The books should engage and enlighten through literary content and quality that is appropriate to the readers age (Shawn 1994). Demonstrating the need for teachers to know the books and to apply such criteria in evaluating them, Shawn offers a reappraisal of some of the classic texts in what she calls a category of "second thoughts" which she explains:

Books frequently recommended by critics, teachers and publications et al, that raise for me anyway, troubling questions. These might involve historical content, message or tone (Shawn 1994).

Shawn for example rejects the sophisticated use of the metaphor of fire in Weissman Klein's classic, A Promise Of A New Spring (1981) (Ref. 6); the improbability of Innocenti's story Rose Blanche (1985) (Ref. 5); and the inappropriateness of the subject and illustrations of Let The Celebrations Begin (Wild and Vivas 1991) (Ref. 9).

In describing Holocaust materials in the Weizmann School Library, a large number of literary and reference books were listed. (Refer – notes to Chapter Four). Based on Book reviews, readings and critical analysis a comprehensive bibliography of books was compiled. The bibliography that follows reveals the rapid and continuous development of this field of children's literature and the wide range of books available to complement





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formal Holocaust education. Each successive year brings new publications that can enrich this education.

The lists of books which follow are based on Shawn and Posner's age division approach as a convenient reference. But it is also mindful of the Weizmann librarian's words of caution which are echoed in Shaun's caveat about the need for flexibility and the need to mediate books according to the readers. Thus a teacher may choose a more advanced book to read to a class as opposed to a recommendation for children to read at home. The lists are introduced by a short general bibliography on the subject, and a list of articles highlighting aspects for critical evaluation.

#### SAMPLE PAGES OF PICTORIAL TEXTS

1. ADLER, D.A. (1987) The Number On My Grandfather's Arm. NY: UAHC.
2. BYERS ABELLS, C. (1987) The Children We Remember. UK: Julia MacRae
3. FINKELSTEIN, N.H. (1985) Remember Not To Forget. NY: Franklin Watts.
4. GINSBURG, M. (1983) The Tattooed Torah. NY: UAHC.
5. INNOCENTI, R. (1985) Rose Blanche. NY: Stewart Tabori and Chang.
6. KLEIN, G.W. (1981) Promise Of a New Spring. Rossel Books.
7. SEUSS, DR. (1965) The Sneetches And Other Stories. London: Collins.
8. SPIER, P. (1980) People. NY: Doubleday.
9. WILD, M and VIVAS, J. (1991) Let The Celebrations Begin. NY: Orchard Books.





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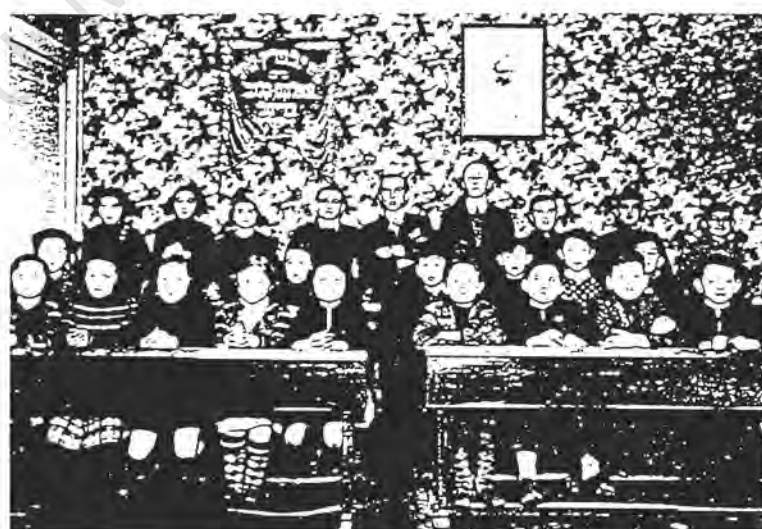
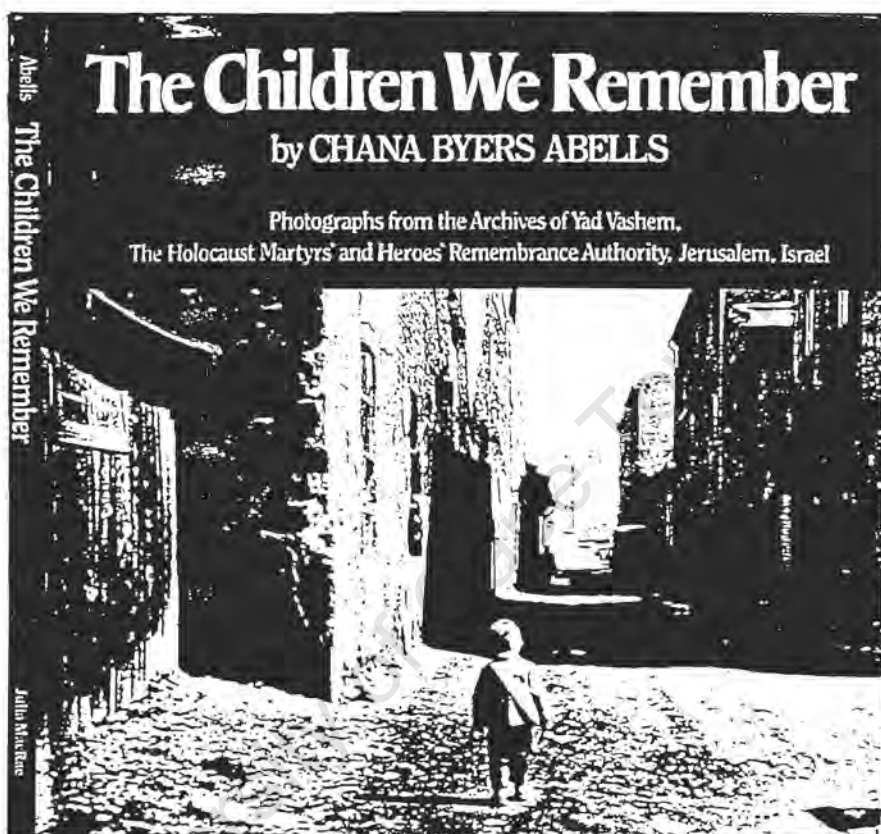
#### SAMPLE PAGES OF PICTORIAL TEXTS

1. ABELLS, C.B. (1987) The Children We Remember. UK: Julia MacRae
2. ADLER, D.A. (1987) The Number On My Grandfather's Arm. NY: UAHC.
3. FINKELSTEIN, N.H. (1985) Remember Not To Forget. NY: Franklin Watts.
4. GINSBURG, M. (1983) The Tattooed Torah. NY: UAHC.
5. INNOCENTI, R. (1985) Rose Blanche. NY: Stewart Tabori and Chang.
6. KLEIN, G.W. (1981) Promise Of a New Spring. Rossel Books.
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8. SPIER, P. (1980) People. NY: Doubleday.
9. WILD, M and VIVAS, J. (1991) Let The Celebrations Begin. NY: Orchard Books.

# APPENDIX E CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

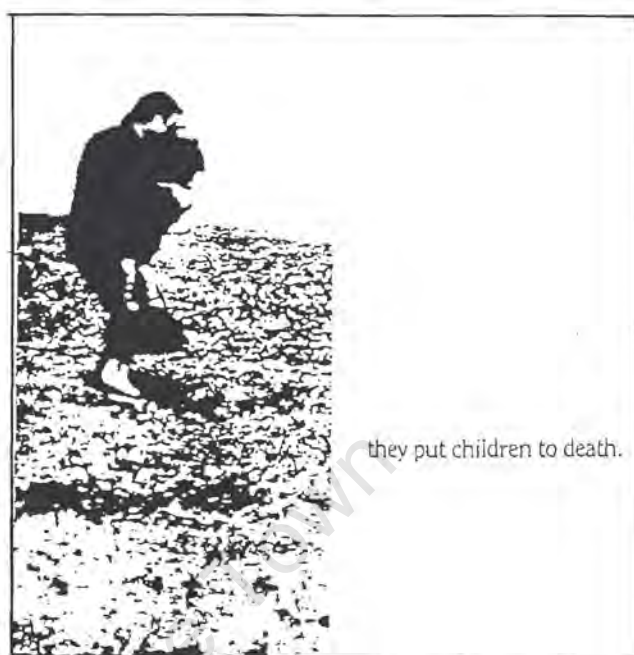
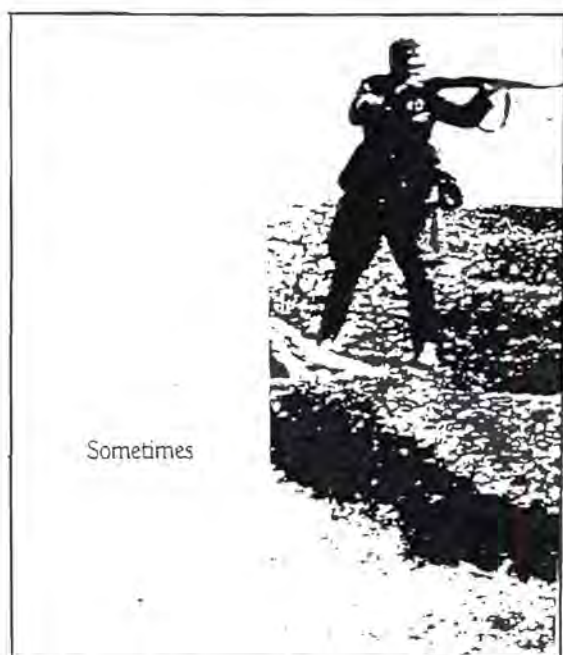
## SAMPLE PAGES

1. CHANA BYERS ABELLS: (1987) : The Children We Remember. (i)



went to schools like this,

The Nazis hated the children  
because they were Jews.

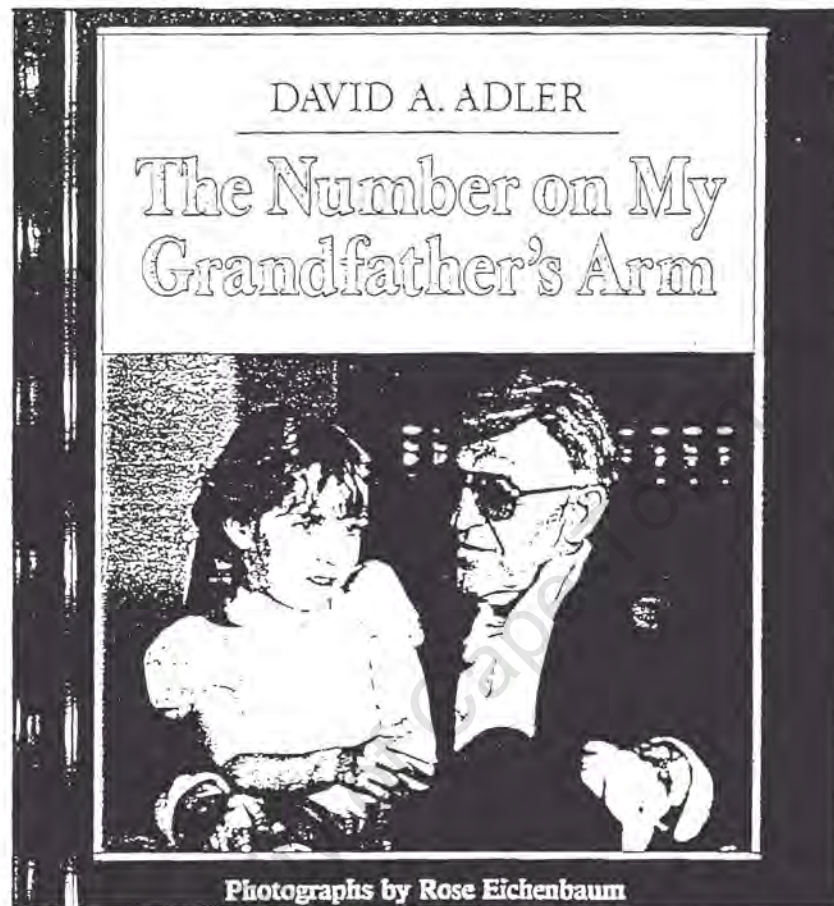
1. CHANA BYERS ABELLS: (1987) : The Children We Remember. (ii)

The children who survived are grown now.  
Some have children of their own.  
They live in towns like yours.  
go to schools like yours,  
play with their friends, or sit alone...



Just like the children we remember.



2. DAVID A ADLER (1987) : The Number On My Grandfather's Arm, (i)

Grandpa lives in this building,  
in his own apartment.  
But he visits us a lot.  
He usually wears a necktie and jacket.  
Sometimes, in the summer,  
he takes off his jacket.  
But even when it's hot,  
Grandpa always wears a long-sleeved shirt.

One night my parents were going out.  
Grandpa came over after supper to be with me.  
He saw my parents were in a hurry  
so he said he'd wash the dishes.  
Grandpa took off his jacket and necktie.  
He rolled up the sleeves of his shirt,  
and I saw a number on his arm.



2. DAVID A ADLER (1987) : The Number On My Grandfather's Arm. (ii)

"In Auschwitz they printed numbers on our arms.  
We were no longer people to them.  
We were numbers.

"The Nazis hardly fed us.  
They tortured us.  
And they killed us.  
The Nazis killed  
six million Jewish men, women, and children  
—innocent people.  
Some were my friends, my family."

There were tears in Grandpa's eyes  
and in my eyes, too.

"I was one of the lucky ones," Grandpa said.  
"I survived."

We just sat there for a while.  
We didn't talk.  
I imagined what it was like for Grandpa  
to be in that concentration camp.  
It must hurt him to remember  
the time he spent there  
and to remember all the people he knew  
who were killed.

After we sat there for a long while,  
I put my hand on Grandpa's and told him,  
"You shouldn't be ashamed  
to let people see your number.  
You didn't do anything wrong.  
It's the Nazis who should be ashamed."



3. NORMAN H FINKELSTEIN: (1987) : Remember Not To Forget. (i)

# *Remember Not to Forget*

A MEMORY OF THE HOLOCAUST

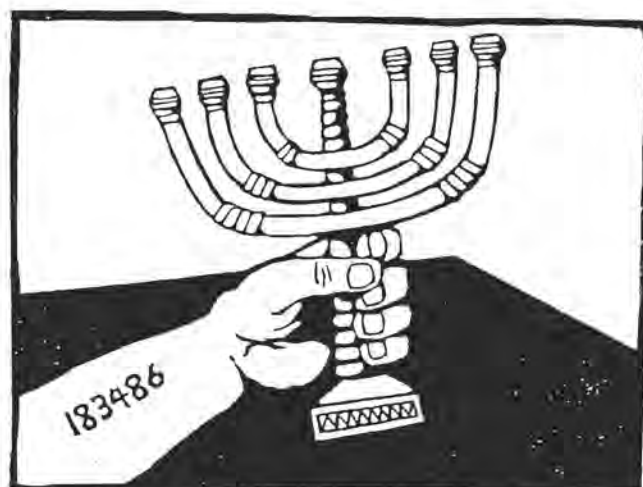
By Norman H. Finkelstein

Illustrations by  
Lois and Lars Hokanson

After the young German selects a Menorah and pays for it, the shopkeeper shakes his hand and wishes him a safe journey home. As the old man stretches his hand forward, a distinctive purple number can be seen tattooed on his arm. It is the sign of a person once marked for death by other Germans, not so long ago.

Between 1933 and 1945 six million Jewish men, women and children were murdered in Germany and other European countries. Although most of them died during World War II, they did not die because they were soldiers in battle. Neither were they guilty of any crimes. They died for only one reason: they were Jewish.

How could such a thing have happened? To answer this question, we must look far back in history.



3. NORMAN H FINKELSTEIN: (1987) : Remember Not To Forget. (ii)

To make life even more desperate, the Nazis forced Jews from their home towns and villages into special sections of larger towns and cities, which were surrounded by fences, walls, and armed soldiers. These guarded areas were called ghettos. There, in crowded, unsanitary conditions, the Jews tried to keep themselves and their dignity alive.

In the end, those who did not die of hunger or disease in the ghettos were doomed to death in the concentration camps, which became the killing places for six million Jews and millions of other innocent victims of the Nazis.

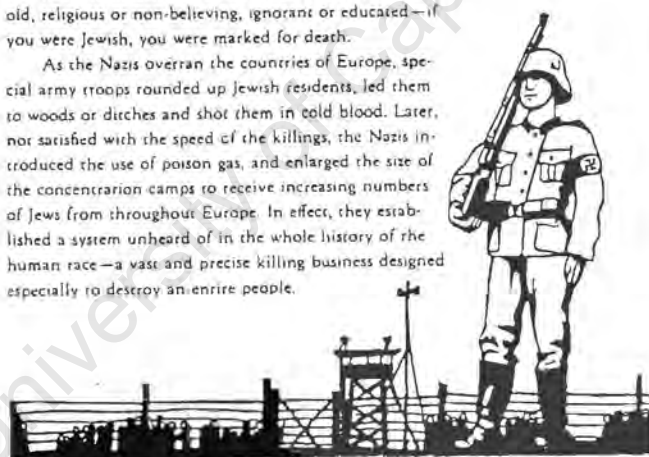
Few escaped.



20

It did not matter if you were rich or poor, young or old, religious or non-believing, ignorant or educated—if you were Jewish, you were marked for death.

As the Nazis overran the countries of Europe, special army troops rounded up Jewish residents, led them to woods or ditches and shot them in cold blood. Later, not satisfied with the speed of the killings, the Nazis introduced the use of poison gas, and enlarged the size of the concentration camps to receive increasing numbers of Jews from throughout Europe. In effect, they established a system unheard of in the whole history of the human race—a vast and precise killing business designed especially to destroy an entire people.



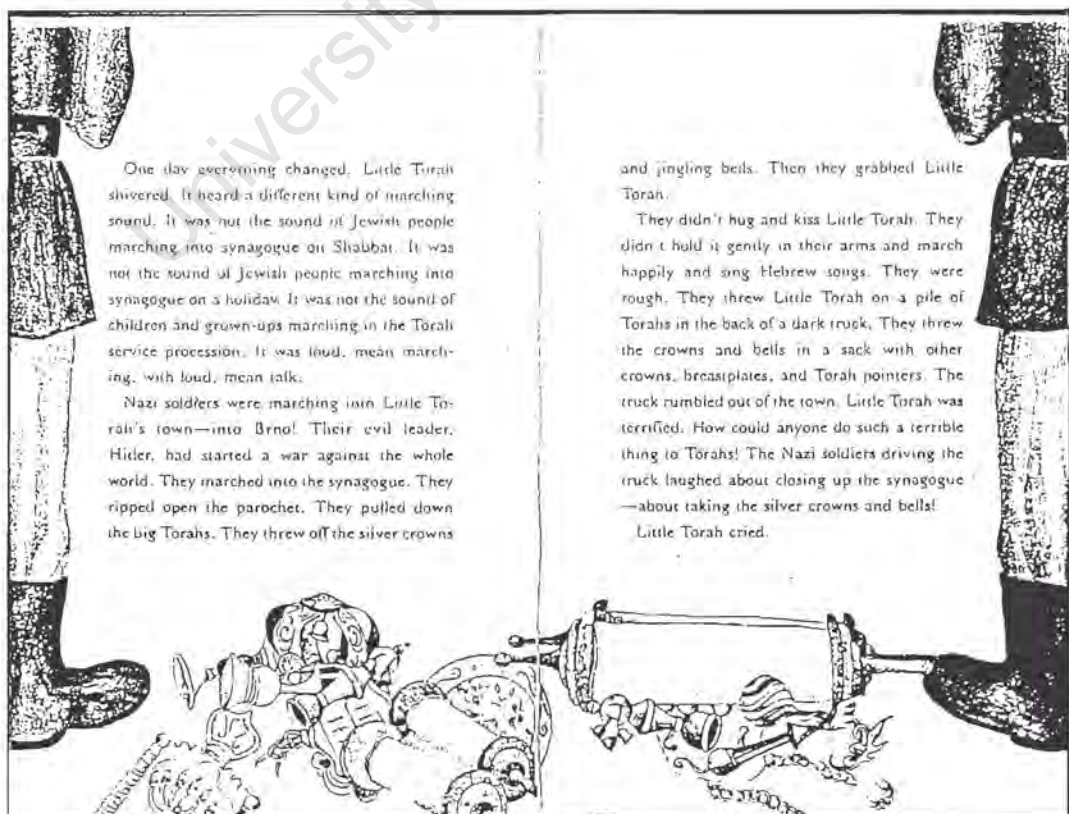
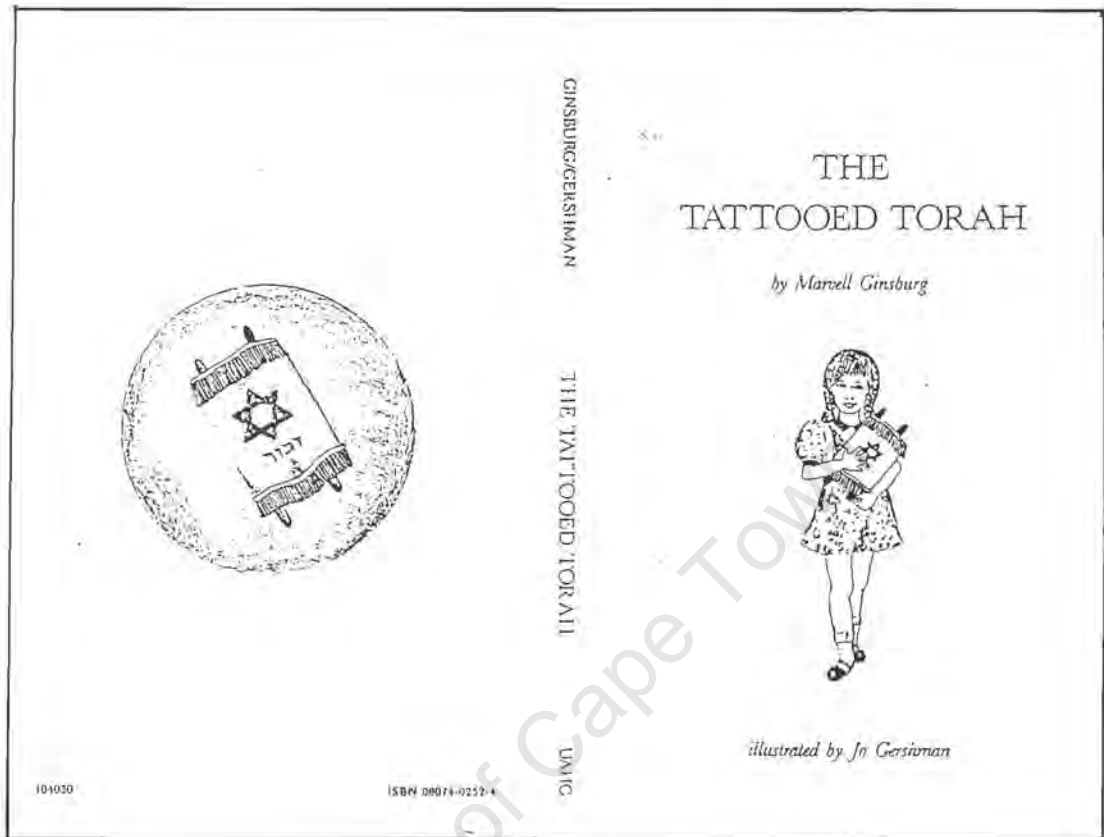
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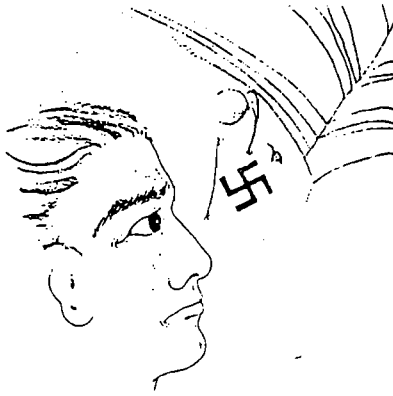
When World War II ended, over two-thirds of the Jews of Europe were dead, and the shocked world could only wonder how such a terrible event could have happened. It was an unimaginable tragedy, horrible and unbelievable; it was a savage firestorm of raging intensity—a Holocaust.

Some people believe that the passage of time has a way of healing sorrow. In the long history of the Jewish people there have been many sorrowful events. While the span of centuries may dull some of the original pain, Jews have never allowed the memory of these earlier tragedies to be erased. In the same way, they will never forget the Holocaust.

22



4. MARVELL GINSBURG (1983) : The Tattooed Torah. (i)

4. MARVELL GINSBURG (1983) : The Tattooed Torah. (ii)

Mr. Weil went closer to look at the Torahs. He saw that each one had a number tattooed on it as well. The tears began to roll down Mr. Weil's cheeks and he started to sob. He stood there crying for a long time.

"Torahs with swastika tags! How could anyone do this to Torahs? I must do something to get them out of here."

Mr. Weil then flew to London where he went to Westminster Synagogue. He told the people about the Torahs in the warehouse.

"We must save those Torahs," he told them. "We must take off those swastika tags. Torahs belong in synagogues, not in a warehouse!"

The people shouted, "Yes, yes. We must save the Torahs!"

And they did. They all gave money until they had enough to put all 1,500 Torahs on airplanes and fly them to London to be cleaned and repaired—all 1,500 including Little Torah.

as it was taken from the ark and everyone marched in the procession. Little Torah was handed to the youngest child who led them in the joyous march around the school building singing, oh, so happily, "Torah, Torah, Torah, Torah, Torah, Torah, Torah tzivah lanu Moshe." (The Torah was commanded to us by Moses.)

When the procession returned to the sanctuary, Little Torah was unrolled and two children read from the portion of the week.

Little Torah was bursting with pride. What a wonderful, wonderful day—even better than a Bar Mitzvah.



5. ROBERTO INNOCENTI (1985) : Rose Blanche (i)

## ♦ ROSE BLANCHE ♦



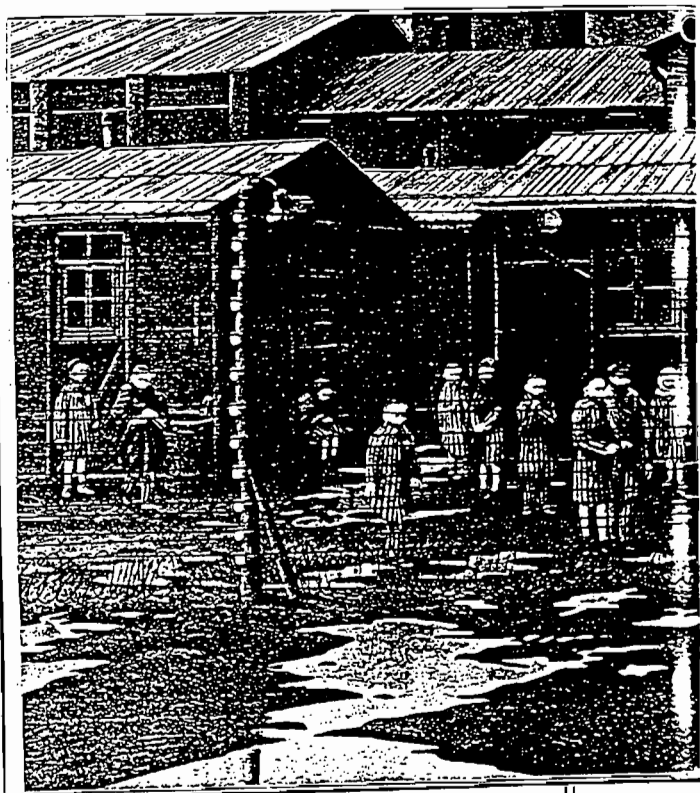
ROBERTO INNOCENTI

He grabbed the little boy by the collar and brought him back to the truck. Then he smiled at the soldiers without speaking. And they thanked him. The sky was gray.



5. ROBERTO INNOCENTI (1985) : Rose Blanche (ii)

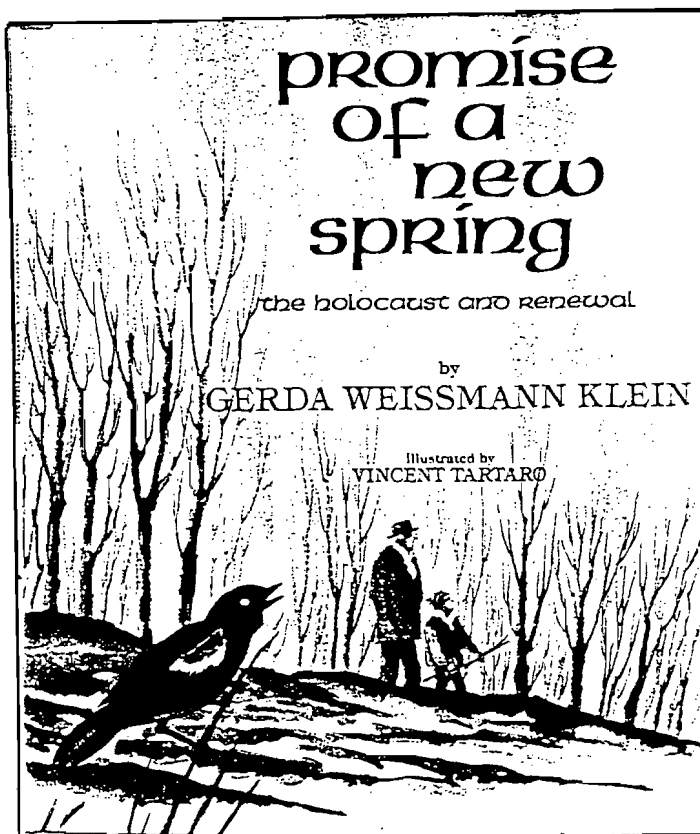
Suddenly, electric barbed wire stopped me.  
Behind it there were some children standing still.  
I didn't know any of them. The youngest said they  
were hungry. Since I had a piece of bread, I carefully  
handed it to them through the pointed wires.



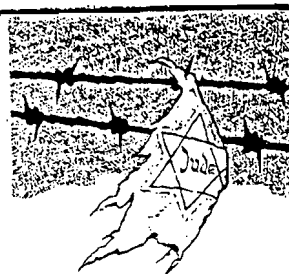
By now, she knew the road by heart. There were  
more children by the wooden houses, and they were  
also getting thinner behind the barbed wire fence.  
Some of them had a star pinned on their shirts. It was  
bright yellow.



6. GERDA WEISSMANN KLEIN (1981) : Promise Of A New Spring (i)



promise  
of a  
new  
spring



Read this book yourself, and you will mourn the passing of an era — the loss of human innocence. Your heart will break for hearts that beat no longer.

Let a child read this book, and you will open a doorway of understanding — an evocation of the world destroyed, the cruelty of destruction, and the courage of those who seek to rebuild and renew.

Share this book with a child, and you will share an experience — a precious moment in time for you both. In its poetry and in its sensitivity are worlds of meaning waiting to be discovered, and the eternal discovery that gives hope to them all: that young people themselves are the promise of a new spring. *Recommended for readers, ages 7 to 10.*

ISBN 0-940646-51-2

\$5.95



All of them: young and old,  
beautiful and plain,  
wise or simple.  
Burned, destroyed, killed, out of season,  
out of the normal order of life.

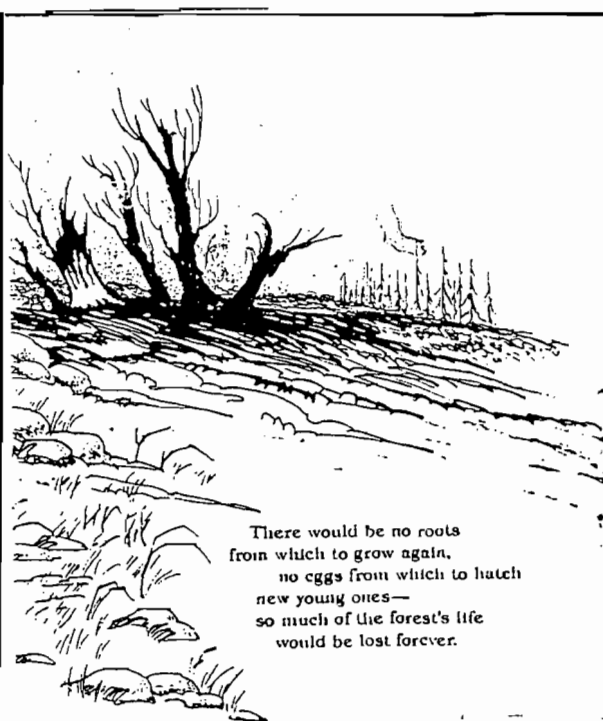
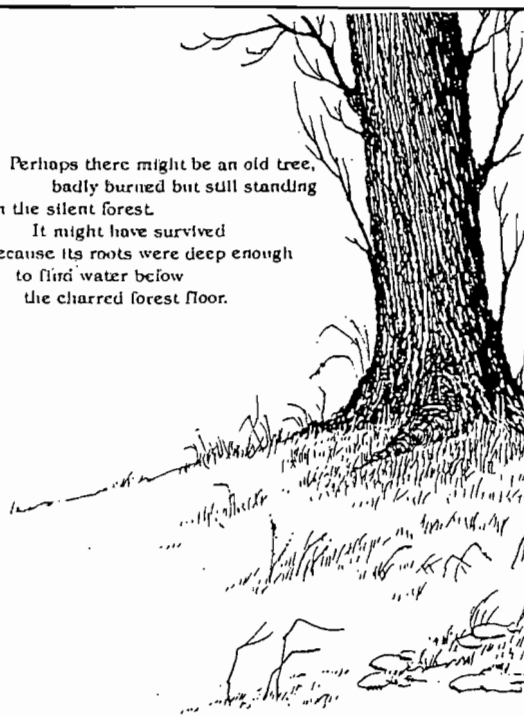
6. GERDA WEISSMANN KLEIN (1981) : Promise Of A New Spring (ii)

Just as in a forest fire  
some birds, their wings singed by  
the heat and the flames,  
might have managed to fly to freedom.



Perhaps there might be an old tree,  
badly burned but still standing  
in the silent forest.

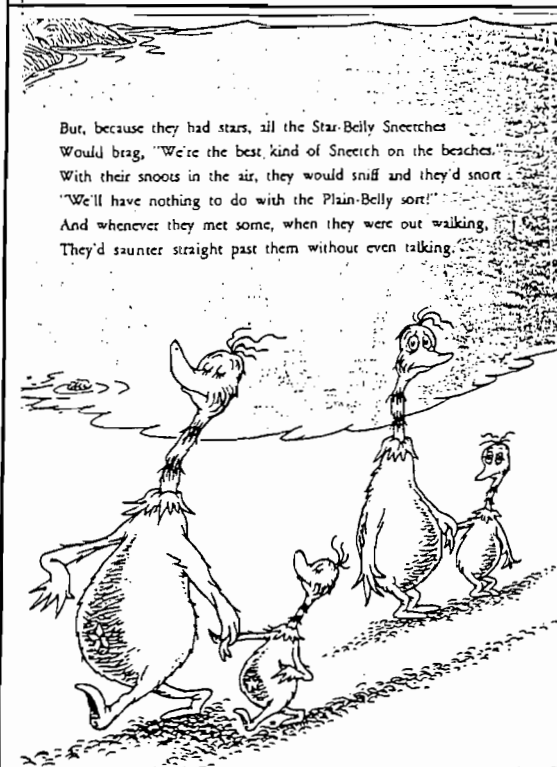
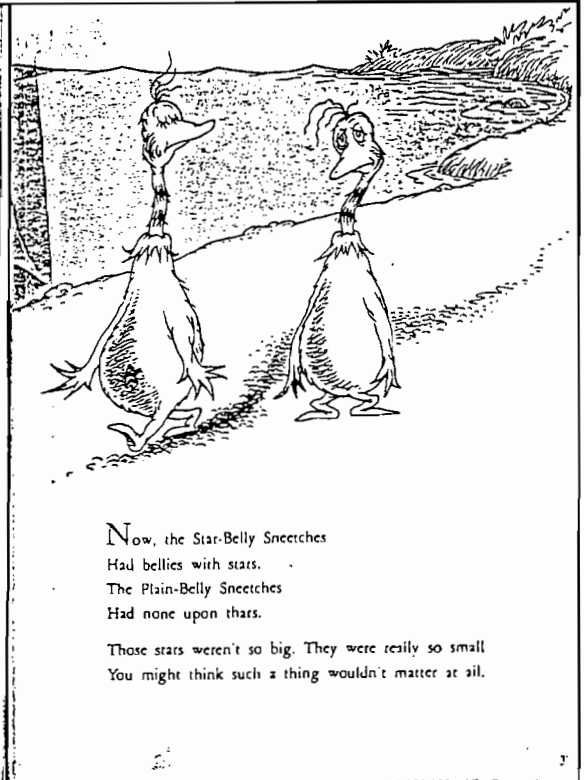
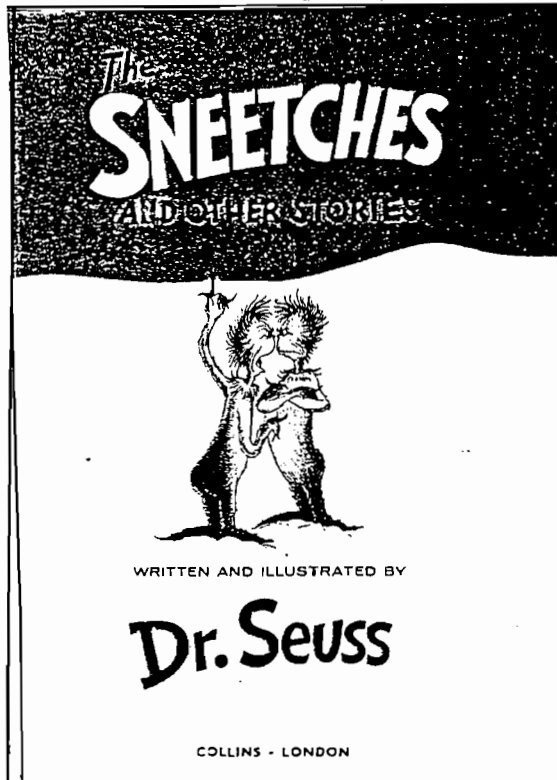
It might have survived  
because its roots were deep enough  
to find water below  
the charred forest floor.

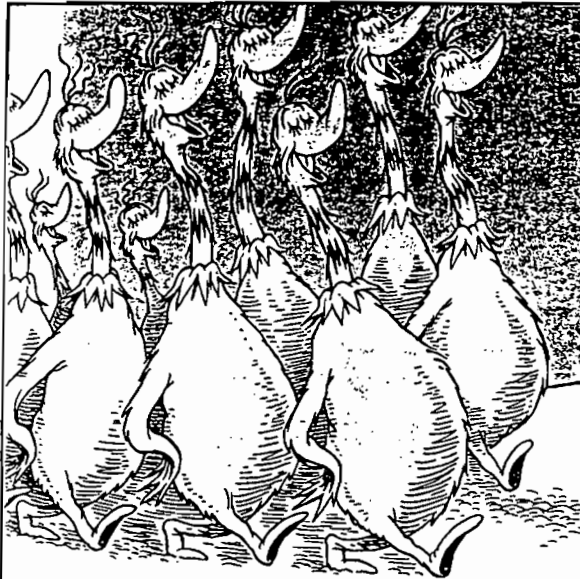


There would be no roots  
from which to grow again,  
no eggs from which to hatch  
new young ones—  
so much of the forest's life  
would be lost forever.

That is what happened  
in the time of the Holocaust.  
Only a few were saved.



7. DR SEUSS (1965) : The Sneetches and Other Stories. (i)

7. DR SEUSS (1965) : The Sneetches and Other Stories. (ii)

Then, with snoots in the air, they paraded about  
And they opened their beaks and they let out a shout,  
"We know who is who! Now there isn't a doubt.  
The best kind of Sneetches are Sneetches without!"

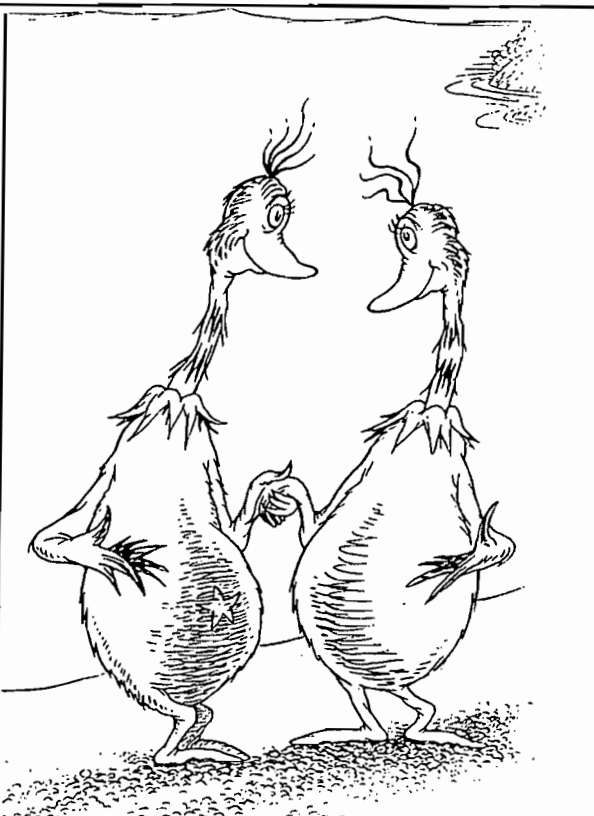
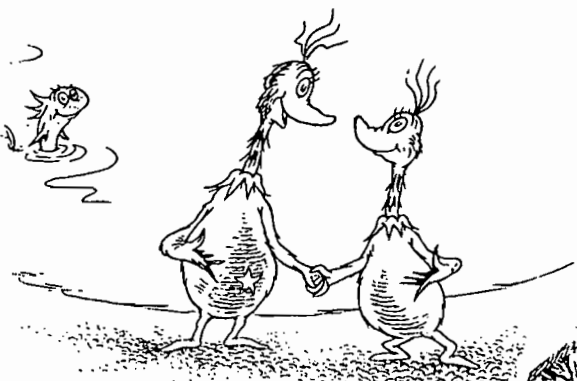


Then, of course, those with stars all got frightfully mad.  
To be wearing a star now was frightfully bad.  
Then, of course, old Sylvester McMonkey McBean  
Invited *them* into his Star-Off Machine.

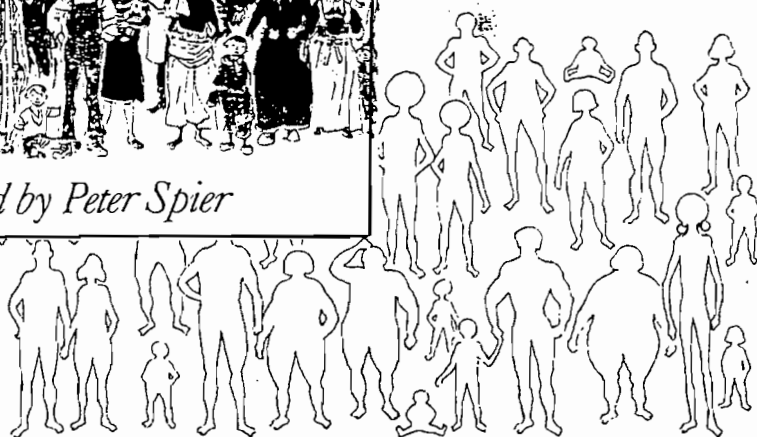
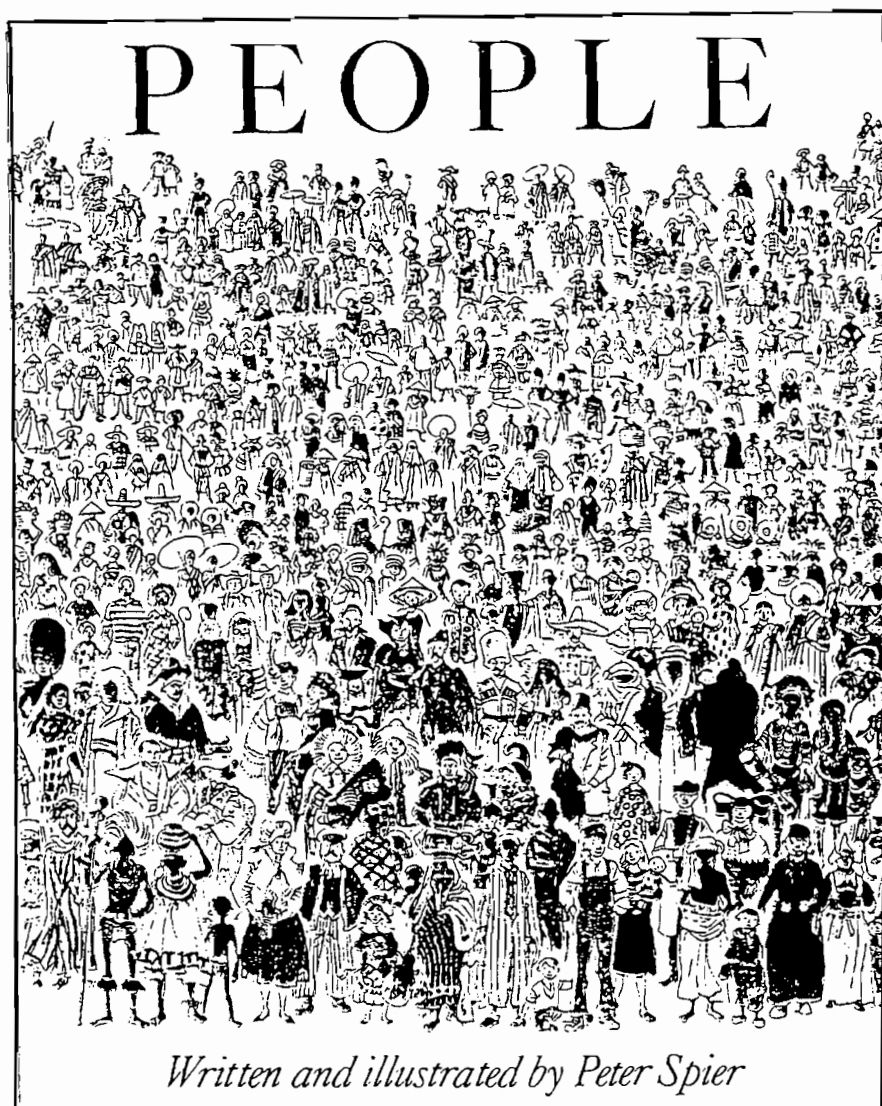
Then, of course from THEN on, as you probably guess,  
Things really got into a horrible mess.



But McBean was quite wrong. I'm quite happy to say  
That the Sneetches got really quite smart on that day,  
The day they decided that Sneetches are Sneetches  
And no kind of Sneetch is the best on the beaches.  
That day, all the Sneetches forgot about stars  
And whether they had one, or not, upon thars.





8. PETER SPIER (1980) : People. (i)

We come in all sizes and shapes: tall, short, and in between.



But without a single exception, we all began quite small!



And noses come in every shape imaginable.

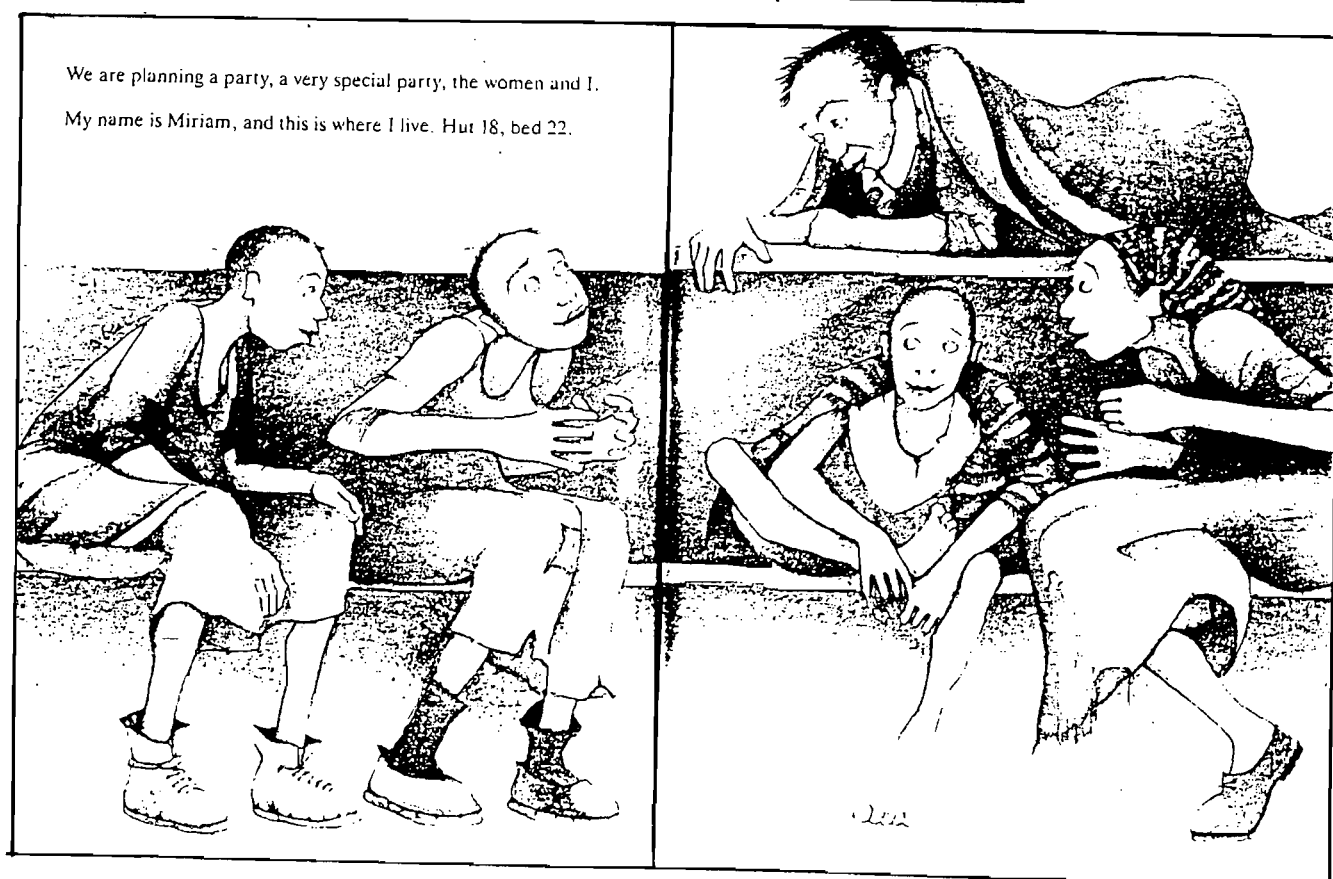
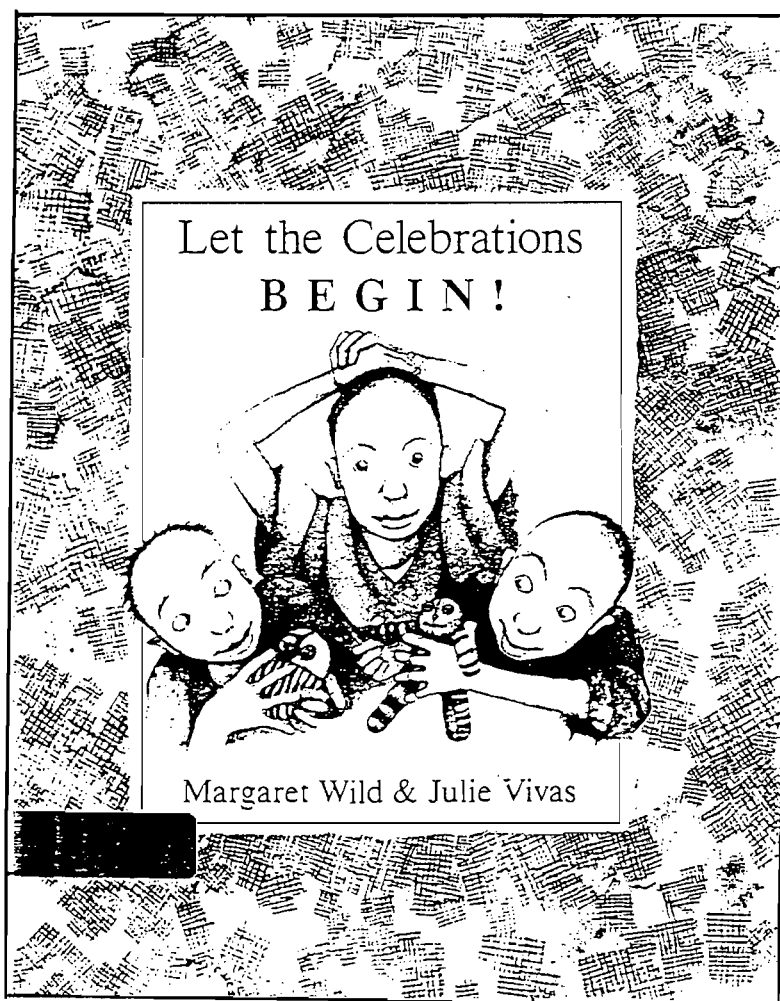


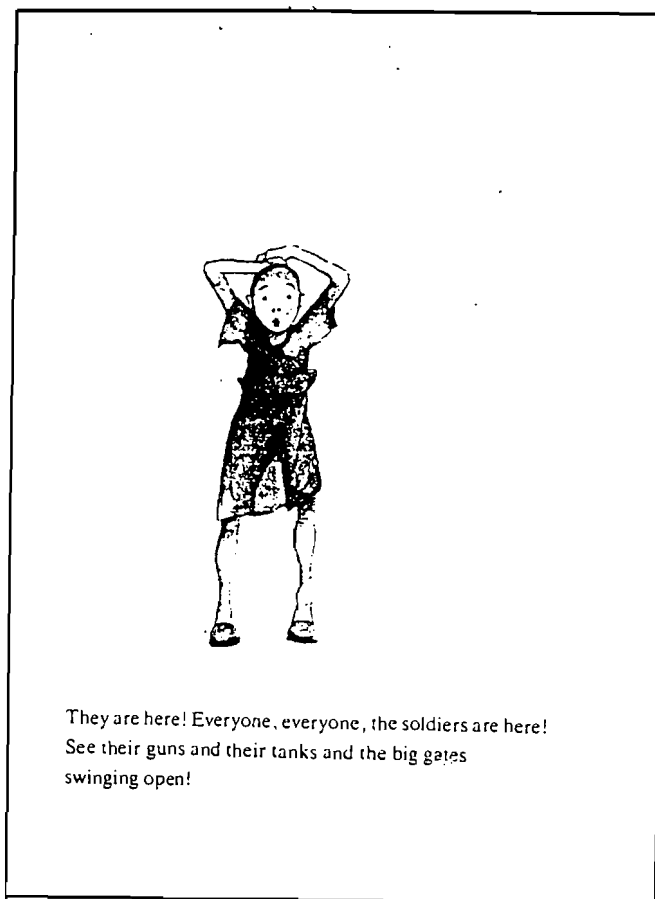
So do faces, lips, and ears...and everything else!



It is very strange: Some people even hate others because they are unlike themselves. Because they are different. They forget that they too would seem different if they could only see themselves through other people's eyes.



9. MARGARET WILD and JULIA VIVAS (1991) : Let The Celebrations Begin (i)

9. MARGARET WILD and JULIA VIVAS (1991) : Let The Celebrations Begin (ii)

David peeps at the soldiers through his mama's old black shawl, and the soldiers stare back at us, oh, so strangely, making soft noises in their throats. They seem afraid to touch us—it's as if they think we might break. Then old Jacoba shuffles forward and demands a cooked chicken—all to herself!—and the soldiers laugh and one of them swings David up onto his shoulders.



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## FILM AND VIDEO MATERIAL CONCERNING THE HOLOCAUST

### 1. FILM AND VIDEO MATERIAL REFERRED TO IN THIS STUDY.

The list follows the alphabetical order of titles, year and director.

Made-for-television films are listed as TV.

<u>Anne Frank Remembered</u>	1995	Jon Blair (United States).
<u>The Attic: The Hiding of Anne Frank</u>	1988	John Erman (United States).
<u>To Bear Witness</u>	1995	Ingrid Gavshon (South Africa) TV.
<u>Europa, Europa</u>	1991	Agnieszka Holland (Germany).
<u>A Day in October</u>	1990	Kenneth Madsen (United States/Denmark).
<u>Dear Kitty</u>	1987	Anne Frank Centre (Netherlands) TV.
<u>The Diary of Anne Frank</u>	1959	George Stevens (United States).
<u>The Führer Gives The Jews A City</u>	1944	Kurt Gerron (Germany).
<u>Genocide</u>	1973	Michael Darlow (Great Britain) TV. From the Series <u>World At War</u> BBC.
<u>Hannah's War</u>	1991	Menachem Golan (Israel).
<u>Holocaust</u>	1978	Marvin Chomsky (United States) TV.
<u>Jud Süß</u>	1940	Veit Harlam (Germany).
<u>Korczak</u>	1990	Andrej Wajda (Poland).
<u>The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank</u>	1987	Willy Lindwer (Netherlands)
<u>The Legacy of Anne Frank</u>	1967	Anti Defamation League and Eternal Light Series (United States)
<u>Night and Fog</u>	1955	Alain Resnais (France).
<u>The Only Way</u>	1967	Bent Christianssen (Denmark).
<u>Die Rothschilds</u>	1940	Erich Waschenk (Germany).
<u>Schindler's List</u>	1994	Steven Spielberg (United States).
<u>Shoah</u>	1985	Claude Lanzman (France).
<u>The Sorrow and the Pity</u>	1970	Max Ophul (France).
<u>Through Our Eyes: Children Witness The Holocaust</u>	1985	Itzhak Tatelbaum (Israel) TV.
<u>Triumph of the Will</u>	1935	Leni Riefenstahl (Germany).

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- |                                    |      |  |
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### TEACHING THE HOLOCAUST: RESOURCES AND MATERIALS

(Annual Catalogue) Culver City, California. Social  
Studies School Service.

**INTERVIEWS**

Interviews for this study were conducted during the years 1993-94 (unless otherwise stated). Interviews were introduced by a brief preamble explaining the nature of the research and the contribution the interviewed person could bring to curriculum development. In this way respondents were encouraged to express details and to enhance 'thick description'. Nuances were also elicited by varying methods ranging from structured closed questions to an open-ended discussion format.

Transcriptions of the interviews can be made available on request.

- INTERVIEW 1: Mrs M. – Parent; 1993 (June). A graduate of United Herzlia Schools, Mrs M had a daughter in Standard 2 and a son in Sub A at Herzlia Weizmann School.
- INTERVIEW 2: Mrs D. – Parent; 1993 (June). Her daughter of 14 years is a graduate of Herzlia Weizmann; Mrs D's 10 year old son was in Standard 3. She also had a younger child of 15 months.
- INTERVIEW 3: Mrs H. – Parent; 1993 (June). Her elder daughter of 16 years completed her primary school studies at Herzlia Weizmann and was in Standard 9 at Herzlia High School. Mrs H's youngest child, aged 6 years was in Sub A and her son of 11 years was in Standard 4 at Herzlia Weizmann.
- INTERVIEW 4: Mr R.F. – Principal of Herzlia Weizmann; 1993 (March).
- INTERVIEW 5: Mrs A. – Herzlia Weizmann School Social Worker and Guidance Teacher; 1993 (March). Mrs A is a graduate of the Herzlia School system.
- INTERVIEW 6: Mrs L. – Herzlia Weizmann School Social Worker and Guidance Teacher; 1992 (October). Mrs L is a veteran teacher who also serves on the Herzlia Weizmann School Executive.
- INTERVIEW 7: Mrs D. – School Librarian, Herzlia Weizmann; 1992 (October). Mrs D is a veteran staff member and serves on the Herzlia Weizmann School Executive.
- INTERVIEW 8: Mr D. – United Herzlia School Committee Executive; 1993 (June). A graduate of the School, he had three children attending Herzlia School. He is also an executive member of the local synagogue.

- INTERVIEW 9: Rabbi K. – Head of Jewish Studies, Herzlia High School; 1994 (February). Rabbi K. is also a communal rabbi.
- INTERVIEW 10: Mr B. – Head of Jewish Studies, Herzlia Middle School; 1994 (February).
- INTERVIEW 11: Mrs M. – Class teacher, Standard 4; 1993 (July). A veteran staff member and a member of the Herzlia Weizmann School Executive.
- INTERVIEW 12: Dr L. – Psychiatrist; 1993 (July). His children attended Herzlia School. He holds a special interest in Holocaust studies.
- INTERVIEW 13: Mrs O. – Chairperson, Cape Town Holocaust Memorial Council; 1993 (July).
- INTERVIEW 14: Mr E. Dlin – Yad Vashem Teaching Staff, researcher and Holocaust educator; 1991 (July). Dlin was a scholar in residence at Herzlia High School in 1990.
- INTERVIEW 15: Ms H. – Class teacher, Standard 3, Herzlia Weizmann; 1991 (July).
- INTERVIEW 16: Herzlia Highlands Primary School Hebrew and Jewish Studies staff; 1993 (May). Group interview of four members of staff and head of department.
- INTERVIEW 17: Herzlia Constantia Primary School Hebrew and Jewish Studies staff; 1993 (May). Group interview of 4 members of staff.
- INTERVIEW 18: Herzlia Weizmann Primary School Hebrew and Jewish Studies staff; 1993 (May). Group interview of four members of staff and heads of departments.
- INTERVIEW 19: Pupils Interviews; 1992 (October). Group interview of six boys and girls in Standard 4.
- INTERVIEW 20: Pupils Interviews; 1992 (October). A group interview of two Israeli pupils attending Herzlia Weizmann.

INTERVIEWS 21-27: Pupil Interviews – Standard 4 pupils; 1993 (June). Pupils were interviewed individually.

#### INTERVIEW

- 21: J.K. male, oldest sibling.
- 22: D.S. female, oldest sibling.
- 23: R.W. female, youngest sibling. Her mother is a member of staff (INTERVIEW 18).
- 24: I.B. female, oldest sibling. Mother of I.B. was also interviewed (INTERVIEW 2).
- 25: D.F. male, youngest sibling.
- 26: G.H. male, oldest sibling.
- 27: D.K. female, middle sibling.





**PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE****QUESTIONNAIRE**

The questionnaire (Appendix H.5) was sent to the parents of the Standard 4 classes in November 1992. There were 41 responses from a total of 53 families. In the interests of creating a profile of parents' opinions and perceptions, parents were encouraged to explain their responses rather than responding simply with a statistical affirmation or negation.

The questionnaire was administered prior to the groundbreaking democratic elections in South Africa at a time of political and communal uncertainty. It was also prior to the world headlines exposure of 'ethnic cleansing' in Bosnia, and prior to Spielberg's Holocaust exposé in Schindler's List (1994).

**QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES****PERSONAL EXPERIENCE AND OPINIONS**

1. Personal Connection: 20 parents indicated that they had no direct family involvement in the Holocaust; 21 parents responded positively. This included 6 parents who indicated that their grandparents had been Holocaust victims.
2. Family members who are Holocaust survivors: 13 parents responded positively.
3. Personal experiences of Anti-Semitism: 22 parents indicated that they had no personal experience of anti-semitism; 19 parents identified experience which they defined as 'minor' and 'not serious'.
4. Visits to Holocaust related sites: 21 parents responded positively listing sites such as the Anne Frank House (Amsterdam) and Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. Others referred to local Holocaust exhibitions.
5. Lectures: 13 parents indicated that they had recently attended local lectures at Herzlia School (scholars-in-residence), the university, and at Jewish communal venues.
6. Films: 19 parents reported having recently viewed Holocaust related movies. The most common titles were Europa, Europa (1991) and Sophie's Choice (1982).

7. Concern that the Holocaust could recur: 21 parents expressed such concern while 18 parents argued that it could not recur. Of the affirmative respondents many pointed to a history of Jewish persecution and to ongoing racial prejudice and bias against minorities. Of those who felt it could not recur many argued that the State of Israel would prevent it; 13 suggested that it could never recur on the same scale.
8. The threat of Neo-Nazi activities in South Africa: 35 parents recognized the existence of such activity but only 22 defined it as a personal threat. Some responded 'It doesn't compare with Hitler', 'It's not really serious', but 12 parents warned that it should not be ignored.

## THE HOME

1. Allowing children to view Holocaust related films and video tapes: Of the respondents 3 parents replied with a definite 'no' and 'no, not yet!'. Responding in the affirmative were 38 parents some of whom added conditions such as the child's personal interest and inclination.
2. Encouraging children to view Holocaust films: 9 parents responded and said they let their children decide, but 24 parents indicated that they actively encouraged their children to watch such films and video materials.
3. Discussion in the home: 2 parents indicated that the Holocaust had never been discussed with their children at home. Most parents (38) said that it arose infrequently but was sometimes discussed. Of these parents 3 specifically indicated that they did not feel equipped to deal with the subject.
4. High School Tours to Poland: 13 parents were against their children being involved, 2 parents were very enthusiastic and 22 stated they would probably encourage participation but wanted to know more about the programme.
5. Observance of the Memorial Day in the home: 11 parents observed the day by lighting memorial candles or discussing the significance of the day with their families. The day was not marked in any special way by 26 parents but many of these parents were aware that the day was commemorated at the school.
6. Attendance at the communal ceremony at the Jewish cemetery: 8 parents replied that they attend the ceremony annually; 31 parents did not attend.
7. Encouraging children to attend the communal ceremony: 24 parents supported the idea. Of these parents 6 said it was a decision their child should take. Rejecting the idea were 12 parents while 7 remained uncertain.

## IN THE SCHOOL

1. Siblings in the Herzlia School: 24 additional siblings were listed ranging from the first to the final matriculation level. Standard 4 parents responding to the questionnaire therefore reflected the wider parent population.
2. Should the Holocaust be taught in the primary school? 5 parents replied with a definite rejection. In contrast 33 parents responded positively, 'definitely, yes!', 'as an introduction', and 'as soon as the child can cope'. Many parents added their reservations, 'if handled sensitively'.
3. Introducing the subject to pupils: reflecting the preceding response there were 3 parents who favoured waiting until the pupil reached Middle or High School. At the opposite end 2 parents argued for beginning in the first year of school. The majority of parents chose the middle primary school years – Standard 2 (6 parents); Standard 3 (13 parents) and Standard 4 (9 parents). A further group of 6 parents deferred this decision to the teachers – 'the teachers know what's best', 'the teachers must decide.'
4. What message should be conveyed in Holocaust education? Many parents did not record a response and this question appeared to be the most difficult one to answer. One parent wrote simply – 'I don't know!' The majority of parents (21) responded with answers related to ethnic identity – a need for awareness of Jewish history (8), pride in survival (6) and the role of Israel (7). In the national – ethnic matrix were parents who stressed the importance of remembrance (8) – 'it must be taught from generation to generation like the *Pesach* story.' A smaller group expressed more universal lessons such as the danger of complacency in the face of racism and prejudice (5) and people's inhumanity to fellow beings (3).

## CONCLUSIONS

1. Holocaust awareness and interest manifested itself in varying degrees amongst the parents finding expression less in the form of commemoration and more through learning from sources such as books, video/films and lectures.
2. While parents personal interest was apparent, the conveying of this interest to their children was largely left to the agency of the school and to indirect methods such as exposing children to Holocaust related films and television.

3. Parents perceptions about the Holocaust centered on Jewish identity and a sense of ethnic survival and continuity. Parallel to this and challenging it was the threat of antisemitism – parents therefore saw a need to remember the Holocaust and to teach toward preventing a recurrence.
4. Humanitarian and universal lessons of combating prejudice and racial injustices were also a consideration but were secondary to the emphasis on ethnic identity and survival.
5. Parents deferred teaching about the Holocaust to the school and to the expertise of the teachers. They expected the primary school teachers to teach their children about the Holocaust in an age appropriate and sensitive manner.
6. Parents assumed correctly that their children commemorated the Holocaust each year at school.

## APPENDIX H

PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE (PAGE ONE)

# UNITED HERZLIA SCHOOLS

## בתי"ס המאוחדים הרצליה



נ"ה

HERZLIA WEIZMANN PRIMARY SCHOOL  
R.S. FREEDMAN  
PRINCIPAL

6 November 1992

Dear Parent

We are conducting a survey to evaluate the teaching of the subject "THE HOLOCAUST" at Herzlia Primary Schools. This questionnaire forms part of the research into the subject and will reflect parental expectations. This will assist us greatly toward developing appropriate curriculum for teaching the subject. Questions are open-ended and we invite you to explain your answers wherever possible. Your responses will be regarded with confidentiality and will remain anonymous.

MR C ROBINSON  
JEWISH STUDIES DEPT  
HERZLIA PRIMARY SCHOOLS

A. PERSONAL EXPERIENCE AND OPINIONS

1. Were any members of your immediate family victims of the Holocaust (eg. aunts, uncles?)  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Do you have family members who are Holocaust survivors?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Have you personally experienced any form of anti-semitism? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. Have you visited Yad Vashem (Jerusalem) or any other Holocaust Memorial Museum or Camp? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. List any recent lectures or exhibitions related to this subject that you may have attended. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. List any books you have read, or films and videos related to the subject that you have recently seen. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
7. Do you think the Holocaust could happen again? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. Do you think there is a serious threat of Neo-Nazi activity in South Africa?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE: (PAGE TWO)**B. THE HOME**

1. Do you allow your children to watch videos/films with a World War II or Holocaust theme? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Do you encourage them to watch such videos? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Are the subjects of the Nazis, the Holocaust and anti-semitism ever discussed at home? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. Ignoring the financial issue, would you choose to send your child on "The March of the Living " Tours to Poland and Israel. (In Std 8/9?) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. Do you observe Yom Hashoah/Holocaust Memorial Day in any way in your home? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. Do you attend the annual communal ceremony held at Pinelands Cemetery? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
7. Would you take your children to this ceremony? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**C. IN THE SCHOOL**

1. Your child/children are in Standard? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Do you think the subject of the Holocaust should be taught in Primary School? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Given that it would be taught in a sensitive way appropriate to the child's age - in what standard should such lessons begin? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. In your opinion what are the central messages and lessons that should be conveyed in teaching about the subject? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**D. ADDITIONAL COMMENT**

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

THANKING YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION.

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